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ΓΩΣΤΕ AS AN INDEX OF STYLE  
IN THE ORATORS.

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF  
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE  
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY,  
JUNE, 1898,

BY

WILLIAM ALEXANDER ECKELS.

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BALTIMORE:  
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## PREFATORY NOTE.

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The writer's obligations to Professor Gildersleeve in connection with the present work appear on many pages of it. It only remains here to acknowledge the far deeper debt for inspiration and illumination along many lines of Greek studies incurred during a rather unusually long period of intercourse as teacher and student. He also takes this opportunity to express his thanks to Professor Minton Warren, late head of the Latin department at Johns Hopkins, for much patient and helpful guidance in the methods of philological interpretation and research.

MIAMI UNIVERSITY, OXFORD, OHIO,  
*September 19, 1901.*



# ὩΣΤΕ AS AN INDEX OF STYLE IN THE ORATORS.

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## GENERAL PURPOSE.

The purpose of the present work is to examine the use of ὥστε in the Attic orators with reference to stylistic effect. The historical development of the construction and the syntactical phenomena which it exhibits have been fully set forth in such studies as Seume, *De Sententiis Consecutivis Graecis*, and Gildersleeve's article on the *Consecutive Sentence in Greek*, A. J. P. VII. pp. 160–175. Without meaning to press unduly the distinction between syntax and style, or to deny that all syntax may be "made available for the appreciation of form" (cf. the article just cited, A. J. P. VII. p. 162), I have confined my attention chiefly to those features of the usage of ὥστε which are *most obviously* of stylistic import, endeavoring to ascertain what, if any, rhetorical ends the varied handling of the consecutive sentence has been made to subserve.

## CHOICE OF ORATORS AS THE FIELD.

The orators have been chosen as the field for this study, (1) because they represent the most artistic development of Greek prose, the most careful attention to the structure of sentences and periods; (2) because they show an especial fondness for the ὥστε construction; (3) because this department has thus far received least attention in this connection. Of studies dealing with the use of ὥστε in particular authors or departments, special mention must be made of the work of Fellmann on the Tragic Poets, of Wehmann on Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, and of Berdolt on Plato—the latest, and much the most comprehensive and satisfactory presentation of the details of ὥστε usage for a

particular department. Berdolt, in his préface, notes the need of a similar investigation in the domain of the orators. As to the second point, the language of Seume, in his introductory paragraph (*De Sent. Cons. Graec.*, p. 3), is pertinent: “*Exempla autem tantum ex antiquioribus scriptoribus afferam, maxime ex oratoribus, qui artissima sententiarum per particulam ὥστε coniunctione, in qua magna est vis oratoria, creberrime utuntur.*” The special adaptation of this construction to oratorical purposes it will be one of the objects of this discussion to make clear. The actual frequency of its use in this department will appear from the following tables, in which the average occurrence of ὥστε to the Teubner page in the several orators is set over against its use in the four most important classical prose writers.

#### TABLES OF AVERAGE OCCURRENCE.

I.	II.
Herodotus..... .17	Antiphon..... .28
Thucydides..... .25	Andocides..... .36
Plato..... .25	Lysias..... .95
Xenophon..... .50	Isocrates.....1.00
	Isaeus..... .69
	Demosthenes..... .46
	Aeschines..... .30

It will be noted that all the non-oratorical writers except Xenophon fall below the average of the lowest of the orators. Further, reference to Berdolt's work, p. 39, shows that the group of Platonic writings which stand highest in occurrence of ὥστε—doubling the average use for Plato—includes the *Apology*, a work cast in oratorical form, and pieces like the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus* which contain long monologues of a more or less formal sort and so bear something of the rhetorical stamp.

#### ORIGIN OF THE STUDY.

The impulse to this study was given by Gildersleeve's review of Wehmann's dissertation, *A. J. P.* xiv. pp. 240-2. Beginning with some comments on the varying use of the finite moods and

infinitive in different authors, and passing on to the consideration of the use or omission of a preceding correlative with *ὥστε*, the writer of the review reaches the conclusion that "it is safe to speak of stylistic effect within the range of *ὥστε*." Aiming to test the correctness of this general proposition by detailed investigation, I naturally followed the lines suggested in the review, and added to the study of the moods and of correlation some inquiry into the value of the frequency of occurrence of *ὥστε* in general as an index of style. The result has been to convince me that this last, as well as the use of moods, is of minor importance as a stylistic test, while the phenomena of correlation are of marked significance. A few illustrations may suffice to indicate the negative character of the results obtained from the use of these minor tests, and to explain why they are hereafter treated only as incidental and subsidiary to the main theme—the use of correlation with *ὥστε*.

#### TEST OF AVERAGE OCCURRENCE.

The table of average occurrence of *ὥστε* in the orators presented above is a good illustration of the comparative barrenness of mere statistics, without close analysis and interpretation. The order given is chronological; and the "returning curve" presented—the regular increase and decline in the use of *ὥστε*—is, at first glance, sufficiently impressive. Yet it is hard to connect these variations in frequency of use with characteristic differences of style. A rough generalization might see in the large use of the construction in Lysias and Isocrates, as compared with its rarity in Antiphon and Andocides, the sign of an increase in artistic carefulness as to sentence-structure; but, from this point of view, how are we to account for the marked falling-off in the case of a no less careful artist, Demosthenes? And what shall we say of the close approximation—almost co-incidence—as to employment of *ὥστε* in Isocrates, the model of the "florid" style, and Lysias, the representative of the "genus tenue"? Another illustration is to be found in a comparison of two speeches of Isocrates—the *Adv. Euthynum* and the *Helen*. Both of these stand high among the Isocratean works in use of *ὥστε*, but they represent

styles of composition the most diverse. Here, as in the comparison between Isocrates and Lysias, the difference of style of which the "occurrence" test gives almost no sign is most accurately reflected in the use or omission of correlation.

If there is anything suggestive in these statistics of average occurrence, it seems to me to be the marked avoidance of *Ὡστε* in the orators following Lysias and Isocrates, as compared with the usage of these two authors. We might conceive of a certain re-action against a use of the particle which had come to be noted as excessive and approaching a mannerism. Such a view would receive some support from results noted in the latest works of Isocrates himself.

#### TEST OF MOODS.

In speaking of the unreliability of a simple mood-test, I do not mean to deny the existence of a distinction between *Ὡστε* with the infinitive and with the finite verb. Some measure of difference doubtless exists, and the use of the moods probably has still further secrets to yield to a subtle and painstaking analysis.<sup>1</sup> I only wish to record a conviction that the mere statistics of the moods do not afford any such broad and readily applicable test of style as do those of correlation. The two sets of phenomena often show a close relation; but the meaning which they hold in common can generally be expressed much more accurately in terms of correlative and non-correlative than in those of finite verb and infinitive. An illustration may be had by comparing the usage of Isocrates and Lysias as to moods. Lysias shows finite verb to infinitive as 2.07 : 1; Isocrates, as 1.5 : 1.

This is not a very striking difference, to begin with. So far as it has significance for our purpose, it speaks, I think, for the freer, less closely-connected structure of Lysias as compared with Isocrates; but this is more exactly measured by the ratio of correlative to non-correlative forms. For reasons which will be developed later on, the finite mood is the favorite form with non-correlative *Ὡστε*; hence we might say that it is *because of*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially the observations on the moods in Gildersleeve's article, A. J. P. VII. pp. 170-3.

his larger use of non-correlatives that Lysias shows a preference for the finite verb. So, in an examination of the several orations of Isocrates, I have found that the difference in moods sometimes tells a part of the same story of which the difference as to correlation tells practically the whole.

Allowing that the use as to moods and that as to correlation often run together, we seem to be justified in giving greater prominence to the latter as a stylistic test. In such a study, we are dealing with *choice* of forms; and the question of use or neglect of the correlative is a *prior* one to that of mood—*i. e.*, when the mood comes to be chosen the correlative has already been used or rejected, so that the mood is more likely to be influenced by the usage as to correlation than the latter by the mood.

Again, the value of the mood as a stylistic test is diminished by the existence of certain considerations which, important as they are from the strictly syntactical standpoint, may be fairly called extra-stylistic. I refer especially to the rules, almost inviolable for the orators, which require the infinitive in certain connections—with preceding negatives, questions, conditions, and the like.<sup>1</sup> Choice of mood being here excluded, these cases of *Ὡστε*, which make up a considerable group, are in a measure excluded from the scope of our inquiry. I hope to add, at the end of the present work, some observations on the use of the moods, and to point out some of the limitations under which I conceive the study of their use can be more profitably pursued.

## TEST OF CORRELATION.

### (a) *Its Value in General.*

The general considerations which tend to make the use of *Ὡστε* correlative a norm of style are sufficiently indicated in the review of Wehmann (A. J. P. XIV. pp. 240–2) to which I have already referred.<sup>2</sup> The first lies in the responsive effect of correlation

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Seume, p. 49, Gildersleeve, *Cons. Sent.*, A. J. P. VII. p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> I subjoin some extracts from this review, which should be read entire, as giving the actual starting-point of this investigation: "*Ὡστε* occupies a peculiar position among the correlative sentences—nay, among the dependent sentences.



generally. "A certain deliberateness, a certain *περιβολή*, attaches to any wedded pair of correlatives." But further, the author points out the peculiar nature of the *ὥστε* sentence in not allowing interchange of position between the principal and subordinate members.<sup>1</sup> This absence of inversion excludes the element of "surprise," of "interjectional effect," which is possible in other correlative sentences, and makes the sentence with *ὥστε* and a correlative "necessarily reflective, necessarily sedate." The element, then, of orderly progression of thought, added to that of responsion and balance inherent in the use of a correlative, gives that "consequentiality" which Gildersleeve attributes to the form of sentence which we are considering. The contrast between this and the form in which tendency—inherent or actualized—is added as an afterthought, without the anticipating correlative, is that to which I desire to direct attention in the following pages. The questions of finite or infinitive with the latter type and of the more or less close connection of the *ὥστε* clause as indicated in our texts by the arbitrary device of punctuation, I prefer to leave out of sight for the present. The contrast between the C. and N. C. types may be fairly illustrated by placing such a sentence as Isoc. Hel. 37: Οὕτω γὰρ νομίμως καὶ καλῶς διώκει τὴν πόλιν ὥστ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἵχνος τῆς ἐκείνου πραότητος ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσιν ἡμῶν

The protasis of the conditional sentence may follow. There is nothing strange in that. The final clause may precede. That liberty comes in with the dramatic poets. We may say *ὅς—οὗτος* as well as *οὗτος—ὅς*, *ὅσον—τοσοῦτον* as well as *τοσοῦτον—ὅσον*; but *ὥστε* must always follow, must always be what its name implies—consecutive, and when the correlative is expressed there can be no surprises, no *bouleversements*. It is, therefore, necessarily reflective, necessarily sedate. It is perforce excluded from the sphere of liveliness, of *γοργότης*. Of course, a certain deliberateness, a certain *περιβολή* attaches to any wedded pair of correlatives, but if the relative precedes the demonstrative, there is room for an interjectional effect. Not so with *οὕτως—ὥστε*, not so with *τοσοῦτον—ὥστε*. This effect of the correlative in general and of *ὥστε* in particular was distinctly recognized by the ancient rhetoricians. . . . At all events, the consequentiality, as one might render the *περιβολή* of the consecutive sentence, is a point not to be overlooked in future treatises on *ὥστε*, and the subject is one that deserves to be pursued."

<sup>1</sup> The very rare examples of a *ὥστε* clause preceding are interesting as showing how completely the final conception had come to prevail in these cases. The equation *ὥστε = ἵνα* can alone account for the inversion. Of course there is no such instance of inversion where a correlative is used.

καταλείφθαι . . . . over against one like Ad Nic. 49 : Οἱ δὲ τοὺς μύθους εἰς ἀγῶνας καὶ πράξεις κατέστησαν ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἀκουστοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ θεατοὺς γενέσθαι or Adv. Euth. 5 : Νίκιας τοῖνυν Εὐθύνου πλείον μὲν ἔχει, ἥττον δὲ δύναται λέγειν· ὥστ' οὐκ ἔστι δι' ὅτι ἂν ἐπήρθη ἀδίκως ἐπ' Εὐθύνουν ελθεῖν.

(b) *Its Value in the Orators.*

The observations recorded above by no means exhaust the stylistic effects of which the construction of ὥστε with a correlative is capable, but they are sufficient to show that it does have a certain rhetorical coloring, and is especially adapted to the more formal kinds of discourse.<sup>1</sup> Hence we should expect to find it flourish in that group of writers whom we call rhetorical in the stricter sense—the orators. A glance at the statistics justifies this expectation. The tables here presented show the ratio of C. to N. C. ὥστε in the principal classical writers preceding and contemporary with the orators, over against that in the first seven orators of the canon. The figures for the non-oratorical writers are taken from Berdolt, who is the first scholar, so far as I know, to present any comprehensive statistics as to correlation.

TABLES SHOWING RATIO OF C. : N. C.

I.		II.	
	C. N. C.		C. N. C.
Aeschines.....	1 : 6	Antiphon.....	1 : 2.73
Sophocles.....	1 : 5	Andocides.....	1 : 1.4
Euripides.....	1 : 4.5	Lysias.....	1 : 1.17
Herodotus.....	1 : 2.22	Isocrates.....	2.21 : 1
Thucydides.....	1 : 11	Isaeus.....	1 : 1.51
Aristophanes.....	1 : 10	Demosthenes.....	1.89 : 1
Plato.....	1 : 3.9	Aeschines.....	1.48 : 1

Without stopping to comment on the interesting features presented by the first table I note (1) that the variations shown are those of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the review just quoted on the character of the few passages which show ὥστε correlative in Aristophanes.

the department and the individual rather than of chronological order (except, perhaps, in the case of the tragic poets); (2) and especially, that of the non-oratorical writers, Herodotus alone shows a fondness for C. surpassing that of the lowest on the list of the orators, Antiphon, and even here the gain in correlation is comparatively slight.<sup>1</sup> No other writer of the first group approaches Herodotus in inclination towards the C.; and the correlative use of *ὥστε* is seen to be a pre-eminently oratorical construction.<sup>2</sup>

#### CHOICE OF ISOCRATES FOR STUDY.

Since it is impossible, in the compass of the present work, to present a detailed study of *ὥστε* usage for all the orators, it becomes necessary to select one or two for closer examination in order to illustrate the general method. I have chosen Isocrates as a centre. To this professional rhetorician, this painstaking student of the technique of composition, we look especially for the conscious employment of rhetorical effects.

Other considerations, of a practical sort, commend him for our purpose. The volume of his work is sufficiently great—Demosthenes alone surpasses him in this—and the average length of the several orations is greater than in most of the orators. His work, too, represents a greater variety of departments of oratory than that of any of the others.

After a somewhat minute study of the various phases of the subject based on Isocrates, I hope to add some results gathered from Demosthenes, whose importance in this connection readily suggests itself.

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that Berdolt excludes from consideration seven cases of "coalesced" *οὕτως ὥστε* with finite verb in Herodotus. On this phenomenon, cf. Berdolt, pp. 22-3, 92, Seume, pp. 34-36, and Wehmann, p. 14. It forms an intermediate stage between the C. and N. C. types; but I incline, on the whole, to class it as C. If we add these examples to the C. side in Herodotus, the ratio stands 1:1.9—i. e., his advance over Antiphon is increased, but he still keeps his relative position, between Antiphon and Andocides.

<sup>2</sup> I have, unfortunately, no complete statistics for Xenophon. From Wehmann's lists one can gather only that, in clauses with *finite* verb, he uses C.: N. C. :: 1:4.69. Of course, with the finite verb, a preponderance of N. C. is the rule. Still, I see no reason to anticipate that Xenophon will be found to surpass Herodotus in relative frequency of the C. type.



### PLAN OF STUDY FOR ISOCRATES.

The plan proposed is to compare Isocrates's use of *ὥστε* (1) with that of the other orators; (2) in the different classes or departments of his work; (3) in different speeches of the same class; (4) in different parts of the same speech. This division aims to bring out the stylistic peculiarities both of the individual and the department.

The usage as to correlation is, as has been said, the main matter of consideration. In treating of it, in this part of the work, C. and N. C. are treated as two simple opposed types. The finer shades of stylistic difference involved in the handling of each of these—the sub-divisions of C. and N. C. respectively which seem significant for our purpose—will, for the sake of clearness, be reserved for subsequent treatment.

#### (1) COMPARISON OF ISOCRATES WITH OTHER ORATORS.

The data for a comparison of the use of *ὥστε* in the several orators, with reference to correlation, are to be found in the table submitted above (p. 11). That the high-water mark of preference for the C. type is reached in Isocrates will not surprise us. Dignity of tone and impressiveness of manner, a love of response and balance and of a certain deliberate, "processional" movement, are qualities which have been noted in him by all the critics from Dionysius down.<sup>1</sup> To the production of these effects the figure of *ὑπόστασις* in general—heightening the effect of a statement by amplification and interpretation in the second member—and particularly that form of it exhibited in the correlative consecutive construction, is especially favorable. The stately flow of the sentence in which the *οὕτως* sights its answering *ὥστε* from afar, and the speaker is seen to have the whole complex thought firmly in hand from the beginning, commends itself to Isocrates, as against the form in which tendency or consequence is loosely added as an afterthought—whether in the pure "detached" form, with finite verb, or with the slight

<sup>1</sup> Cf. D. of H., *De Scriptt. Vett. Cens.*, V. 2, *καὶ πομπικὸς ἔστι*, etc.

grammatical nexus involved in the use of the infinitive. It is one of the chief characteristics of the "smooth" or "florid" harmony of which Isocrates is the chosen representative, that it aims at having "clause closely knitted to clause, and every sentence rounded to a period;"<sup>1</sup> and the natural connection between Isocrates's fondness for ὥστε correlative and for periodic structure has been pointed out.<sup>2</sup>

Comparing now the usage of Isocrates with that of the other orators, one is at first tempted to press the notion of a *chronological* development in the direction of correlation. But we need to note (1) that the whole period represented by the activity of these seven orators is comparatively short—the long life-time of Isocrates almost binds it into a unity; (2) that the first four on the list, who show the development in regular sequence, are practically contemporaries, while in the case of those following Isocrates—where the difference in time become more substantial—the chronological order is decidedly interrupted. We are thrown back for the significance of these figures on the question of individual difference of style; and here, I think, the test is amply approved.

### *Antiphon.*

The most striking difference shown by the figures is that between Isocrates and Antiphon. We need only to recall Dionysius's statement that "the 'smooth' or 'florid' style is essentially the opposite of the austere," and that Antiphon is the pre-eminent representative of the latter among the orators. The austere style "does not aim at composing periods, or rounding sentences." "Antiphon," says Jebb, "was more periodic than any one who had preceded," but "still far from the ease of Lysias or the smooth completeness of Isocrates." In fact, while the contrast between Antiphon and Isocrates is the most striking feature of the table, the interval between Antiphon and his immediate successors in this regard is sufficient to place him,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. D. of H., De Comp. Verb., c. 22-24.

<sup>2</sup> Gildersleeve, A. J. P. VII. 171—"the two [οὕτως—ὥστε] make famous points d'appui for the construction of a long period, as every reader of Isocrates knows."



as it were, in a class by himself. This falls in well with another observation of Jebb's—that Antiphon's priority in the canon is due not simply to his being born a few years earlier than any of the rest, but that "a broad difference separates him from those who were nearly his contemporaries . . . from Andocides and Lysias, as well as from Demosthenes and Hyperides." Not only the ratio of C. and N. C., but the *character* of the examples under each type, differentiates him from his successors.<sup>1</sup>

### *Andocides.*

Andocides, the "gentleman orator," the "amateur" among these artists of rhetorical discourse, is perhaps less significant for our purpose, in view of the lack of consciousness and of a definite method generally attributed to him. He stands, as to ratio of C. to N. C., between Antiphon and Lysias, but much nearer the latter than the former. Jebb says that he composes "in a far less periodic style than Thucydides, Antiphon, or Lysias;" but I question whether the comparison with Antiphon will hold, so far, at least, as periodic writing in the *modern* sense—suspension of sense and "rounding" within the single sentence—is concerned. Further, it may be noted that with respect to his handling of the ὥστε sentence *inside* the two types which we have been comparing, he seems fairly entitled to his intermediate position. His use of C. ὥστε is not essentially different from that of Lysias and the later forensic orators; while in the character of the sentences which make up the

<sup>1</sup>One curious fact in Antiphon's use of ὥστε seems to deserve notice. Of the six examples of ὥστε which he exhibits, three occur in the Tetralogies; and all these are of a type not elsewhere represented in his works—the formula εἰς τοῦτο ἦκειν ὥστε with the indicative. Further, these three are the only instances of the ὥστε sentence in the Tetralogies. Schierlinger (*Die Unterordnende Satzverbindung bei dem Redner Antiphon*) notes this latter fact, but not the former—the non-use of the formula in the orations proper. One may still, perhaps, accept his judgment that the divergence in ὥστε usage between the Tetralogies and the orations is not a circumstance of sufficient weight to count against the genuineness of the former; but I should incline to give it a place if any considerable number of other stylistic peculiarities could be brought to accompany it. At least it is not amiss to note, from the standpoint of our inquiry, that in the orations proper the ratio of C. to N. C. is less than 1 : 5.

N. C. type, he shows a much closer affinity with the "old-fashioned" school of Antiphon and Thucydides.<sup>1</sup>

### *Lysias.*

Lysias, in respect to relative use of C. and N. C., stands almost exactly half-way between Antiphon and Isocrates. His relation to the former has already been pointed out. As to the line that separates him from Isocrates little more is needed than to call attention to the freer and more varied character of his composition. He did not lack the power to construct an effective period; but the whole aim of his art—especially his ethopoeia—forbade his adherence to a constantly periodic style like that of Isocrates. To quote Jebb again (II. p. 62), he "knew how to brace or relax his frame-work," while Isocrates "must always round his sentence." The admixture of *λέξις εἰρομένη* with periodic structure, increasing as the speech approaches the purely private character, would seem sufficient to explain the lower proportion of C. to N. C., as compared with Isocrates. To appreciate his varied employment of *Ωστε* a comparison of different orations would be necessary.<sup>2</sup>

### *Isaeus.*

The reaction in the direction of the earlier N. C. tendency seen in Isaeus, when compared with Lysias, is not very strongly marked, but still perceptible. In explanation of it, we may

<sup>1</sup> I cannot forbear mentioning the results gathered from the spurious oration *Against Alcibiades*, associated with the name of Andocides, as illustrating the difference between his style and that of Isocrates and, incidentally, the possible value of *Ωστε* as a test of genuineness. It shows C. : N. C. :: 2.5 : 1, over against 1 : 1.4 in the genuine Andocides. This close approach to the Isocratean school, both in ratio of C. and N. C. and in the character of the *Ωστε* sentences generally, is a remarkable confirmation of Jebb's statement that this oration "is far more artificial than anything by Andocides which we possess; it approaches, indeed, more nearly to the style of Isocrates."

<sup>2</sup> Here again, an oration generally regarded as spurious is suggestive. Or. 20—*Pro Polystrato*—goes beyond even the wide range of Lysias in its remarkable preponderance of N. C. (C. 1 : N. C. 11). Cf. Jebb's comments, I. p. 219, on its "absence of art," "long strings of loosely-joined clauses," etc.

adduce the somewhat greater negligence as to form in this most practical of the orators. More specifically, I would emphasize the predominant place given to strict argument in the speeches of Isaeus. Dionysius—*de Isaeo*, c. 16—notes how Isaeus usually essays complete logical proof, while Lysias rarely goes beyond the rhetorical syllogism. This large use of formal argumentation accounts chiefly, I think, for the gain of the N. C. type in Isaeus; for his list of N. C. ὥστε's is made up mainly of a particular variety of the type which, as we shall see later, belongs to the domain of strict argument.<sup>1</sup>

### *Demosthenes and Aeschines.*

Demosthenes, again, shows a reversion to something like the usage of Isocrates in his marked preference for correlation. A somewhat detailed discussion of his use of ὥστε in its bearings upon style is given at the end of this work.

The importance of Aeschines for this study is diminished by the considerations referred to in the case of Andocides—he, too, is a manner of “amateur.” It is at least not surprising to find that the test places him in close proximity to his great rival, in connection with whose work the special features of his use of ὥστε usage could best be examined.

This comparison of the orators is necessarily sketchy and incomplete. A presentation of the finer differences in use of ὥστε exhibited under the C. and N. C. heads respectively is postponed until a general survey of the types in Isocrates has been made. The general outline just given suffices, I think, to show the value of the test; the pages that immediately follow may suggest some methods by which it may be applied more closely to the style of the several orators.

<sup>1</sup> Jebb's comment on the “running” style in Isaeus, and his archaic use of τε in particular, recalls, in view of his tendency to ὥστε N. C., Gildersleeve's parallel between the “after-thought τε” and the “after-thought ὥστε” (A. J. P. xiv, 241).



## (2) COMPARISON OF DIFFERENT CLASSES.

We are now prepared to consider especially the use of ᾠστε in Isocrates; and it is proposed first to compare the relative frequency of the C. and N. C. types in the several classes, or departments, into which his works may be divided.

There is an advantage, in an inquiry like the present, in employing the grouping of another; it precludes the possibility of the investigator's twisting the classification, with an eye to his own results, in the interest of any particular theory. I have chosen to follow that of Jebb. It is based, he says, not on the accident of form, but on subject-matter. I have ventured to substitute the more convenient term "Philosophical" in the case of those professional pamphlets which Jebb classes as "Essays on Education." His "Political" class does not correspond exactly to the "Deliberative" of Demosthenes, but it approaches nearest it, dealing chiefly with large public questions and aiming, ostensibly at least, at persuasion to some course of action. His "Hortatory" class includes those didactic compositions which aim at giving general advice concerning the conduct of life. The terms "Epideictic" and "Forensic" need no explanation.

Taken in the order of preference for the correlative, the classes stand thus: 1. Epideictic; 2. Philosophical (Essays on Education); 3. Political; 4. Forensic; 5. Hortatory. The Epideictic is easily first—C. 3.68 : N. C. 1; the Philosophical and Political stand close together—2.35 : 1, 2.25 : 1, as do the Forensic and Hortatory—1.54 : 1, 1.10 : 1. It will be noted that there is no class in which the N. C. predominates; and in the first three classes (see table of separate orations, given below) there is no *single work* in which the C. type does not prevail. The last two show almost an equal number of works in which C. and N. C. respectively predominate.

Assuming that the correlative use of ᾠστε goes with a dignified, elaborate, and consciously rhetorical style, and especially with a marked preference for periodic structure, and the N. C. with the opposite of this, the order of classes here presented is much what we should expect. The Epideictic is the natural home of the

first-mentioned kind of writing (on the "essentially epideictic character" of uniformly periodic composition, cf. Cic. *Or.* 207, Volkmann, *Rhetorik*, p. 435), while the Political writings of Isocrates—who took no actual part in the contests of the state—have naturally much of the epideictic character; so also the two treatises on education, which serve not only as an "*apologia pro vita sua*," but as *specimens* of that rhetorical art whose usefulness they aim to vindicate. Especially is this true of the fragment "*Contra Sophistas*," which the ancient rhetoricians classed with the *encomia*. The Hortatory and Forensic classes represent a tendency the opposite of epideictic. In addition to the definitions of Dionysius, we have the testimony of Isocrates himself (*Panath.* 1) to the nature of the *γένος δικανικόν*—"speeches seeming to have been spoken simply, and not partaking of *κομψότης*." Clearness and closeness of argument are sought at the expense of ornament and the graces of rhetoric. So, too, the brevity and sententiousness of hortatory discourse are unfriendly to elaborate periods and correlative structure.

This "department" test, which represents the influence of the *sphere* and eliminates the factors of time and individual usage—the latter often involving an element of mere caprice—is especially interesting in the case of a conscious artist like Isocrates, who recognized clearly, as utterances here and there throughout his works show, the propriety of different styles of writing for different sorts of themes, and the existence of clearly-marked divisions of oratory. The Epideictic—using the term here not in the narrower sense of mere sophistic display, but in that of an attempt to dignify and embellish a worthy theme by appropriate ornament—he himself recognizes as peculiarly his own province, and the great body of his work is strongly tinged with it; but he knew how to repress the tendency in departments to which it was alien. A comparison of the forensic work of Isocrates with that of Lysias affords an excellent illustration of the combined influence of the department and the individual. The former influence works to bring down the ratio of correlation from that of Isocrates in general (1.54:1 against 2.21:1); but the latter keeps it from descending to the standard of Lysias, whose work may be treated as practically all

forensic (1.54:1 against 1:1.17). The resultant of the two forces is something almost exactly intermediate.

At first glance, the influence of department in the results before us might seem to be complicated with that of *time*, since the two groups which show a marked falling-off in correlation are both admittedly early. But an examination of the list of separate orations given below shows that particular works of the same period, both within and without these classes, exhibit a decidedly high use of the C. type; and further, in the case of the exceptional works *within* these classes the divergence in use is directly explicable by a mingling of departments. In general, I cannot see that the variation in the use of *Ωστε* has much to do with chronological development—at least, so far as the relations of C. and N. C. are concerned—although the unusually long literary career of Isocrates would seem to give excellent opportunity for such a development. I have recorded below one or two instances in which the *average occurrence* of the particle is noticeably lower in very late work.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In associating a relatively large use of C. *Ωστε* with Epideictic discourse, we must, of course, bear in mind the latitude of the term. The oratory of “display” shows very different stylistic tendencies in different quarters and at different periods. The manner of ornament affected by one school is lightly esteemed by another. The common end—to please and dazzle, rather than to teach and persuade—alone unites them. It would be interesting to apply our test to the work of the school of Gorgias with its tendency to short and simply-constructed sentences. Unfortunately the materials at hand are too slight. Taking the brief specimens mentioned by Belling (*De Periodorum Antiphontearum Symmetria*, p. 19)—the fragment of an Epitaphios by Gorgias, the later Palamedes and Helen attributed to him, the *Ἐρωτικός* of Socrates in Plato’s *Phaedrus*, and Agathon’s oration in the *Symposium*,—I have noted that, in the small group of *Ωστε*’s presented, the N. C. type predominates.

It is the Epideictic that prevails from the time of Lysias and Isocrates on, which delights in full, flowing sentences and to which Cicero assigns the periodic structure as a peculiar possession, with which we are dealing here. I have not as yet collected this material and tested it by use of *Ωστε*. But one instance may be noted: the *Menexenus* ascribed to Plato, an Epitaphios, shows a considerably higher average occurrence than any genuine Platonic work, and a ratio of C.: N. C. of 1:1.4, as against 1:4 for the genuine Platonic works as a whole. One other specimen will be considered under the head of Demosthenes.

### (3) COMPARISON OF SEPARATE ORATIONS.

The consistent variation in the use of ὥστε in the several departments being fairly established, it is proposed to apply the test to the individual speeches within each department. We cannot, of course, expect the same degree of consistency in the case of every single work; but we are naturally led to inquire, when we find a piece departing widely in its use of ὥστε from the normal usage of its class, whether it is abnormal in other respects—whether it is, or is not, a first rate representative of that class.

The variation may be due to a general difference of style or subject-matter, running all through the texture of the piece; or it may be due to composite structure—*i. e.*, a piece which is assigned to one department of writing may contain considerable strata of material belonging properly to another class. Aside from these, there may be special circumstances which suggest a natural and reasonable explanation.

Variation of the sort first described is, of course, a subtle and somewhat elusive feature; and I have, as a rule, adduced it in explanation of the ὥστε usage only in the case of works which have been noted by other investigators as evident departures from type. This general divergence in style, tone, or subject may, of course, be combined with "composite structure," and I have not undertaken to keep the two sharply apart. Where the latter exists in any marked degree, I shall call attention to it, *assuming*, for the present, in the light of our comparison of departments, that the results as to ὥστε usage for the whole work are affected by this introduction of alien elements. In the next section I hope to show, by analysis of several orations, that the use of ὥστε *does* actually show material difference in these different portions of the works in question.

This study of individual orations will naturally yield less striking results than are obtained in the broader field of the departments. If it can be shown, on a fair examination, that the use of ὥστε varies with a tolerable degree of uniformity according to the character of the speech, enough will have been accomplished for the purpose.

The reader need hardly be reminded that the statistics vary in impressiveness with the length of the oration. Fortunately, Isocrates presents few examples of very short speeches, such as abound, *e. g.*, in Lysias. That this matter of length may have due weight, I have included in the table herewith submitted a statement of the number of Teubner pages, actual text, in each oration. This table shows the average occurrence of ὥστε and number of C. and N. C. examples respectively for each oration, with the average occurrence and the ratio of C. and N. C. for each class. The classes are arranged in order of their preference for the C., and the orations in each class on the same principle.

*Isocrates.*

1. *Epideictic.*

	NO. PAGES.	AVERAGE OCCURRENCE.	C. N. C.
Helena.....	16 ..	1.19.....	16 : 2
Evagoras.....	19 ..	1.70.....	26 : 7
Busiris.....	11½..	1.13.....	10 : 3
Panathenaicus.....	67½..	.59.....	29 : 10

Av. occ. for class, .89      Ratio for class, 3.68 : 1

2. *Philosophical.*

De Permutatione...	75½..	.76.....	41 : 17
Cont. Sophistas....	6 ..	1.50.....	6 : 3

Av. occ. for class, .81      Ratio for class, 2.35 : 1

3. *Political.*

Areopagiticus.....	19½..	1.08.....	17 : 4
Panegyricus.....	46 ..	1.17.....	39 : 13
De Pace.....	34 ..	1.09.....	27 : 10
Plataicus.....	14 ..	1.07.....	10 : 5
Philippus.....	37 ..	1.03.....	24 : 14
Archidamus.....	26½..	1.09.....	16 : 13

Av. occ. for class, 1.08      Ratio for class, 2.25 : 1

4. <i>Forensic.</i>	NO PAGES.	AVERAGE OCCURRENCE.	C.	N. C.
De Bigis.....	12 ..	1.83.....	18 :	4
Trapeziticus.....	15 ..	.93.....	11 :	3
Aegineticus.....	12½..	2.00.....	17 :	8
Adv. Callimachum.	15½..	1.16.....	9 :	9
Cont. Lochitem....	5 ..	1.00.....	2 :	3
Adv. Euthynum...	4½..	3.33.....	3 :	12

Av. occ. for class, 1.52      Ratio for class, 1.54 : 1

5. *Hortatory.*

Nicocles.....	15½..	.77.....	8 :	4
Ad Demonium....	12 ..	.17.....	1 :	1
Ad Nicoclem.....	12½..	.56.....	2 :	5

Av. occ. for class, .52      Ratio for class, 1.10 : 1

1. EPIDEICTIC ORATIONS.

*Helena* (C. 16 : N. C. 2).

The *Helen* represents the extreme of preference for ὥστε C. Its ratio is not only far higher than that of any other representative of the Epideictic class, but almost double that of any other Isocratean work. Of its examples, all but two are of the C. type; and of the two N. C., one is of the final type, in which correlation is excluded, leaving but *one* in which the C. was at all possible and was not employed.

That the *Helen* also represents the most perfect development of Isocrates' elaborately "epideictic" manner will, I think, be admitted. Blass calls it "a show-piece of rhetorical art—nothing more." Jebb notes the fact that it is *pure* encomium, not mixed with apology, like the *Busiris*, and that the congenial character of the theme gives it more freedom and glow. Save for the polemic introduction, it is almost pure narrative, and the panegyrist gives his genius full swing, in a succession of long sentences and flowing periods of the most ornate type. In a number of the examples the correlative word stands at the head of the main clause, adding to the ordinary responsive effect of correlation that of balance in position.

That the average occurrence of ὦστε does not rise higher is partly due to the separate character of the introduction which, in three pages, furnishes but one example, making its average occurrence .33 as against 1.44 for the encomium proper. On the less ornate style of the former, cf. Blass.<sup>1</sup>

*Evagoras* (C. 26 : N. C. 7).

The *Evagoras*, an excellent specimen of eulogistic discourse, need not detain us long. In rhetorical finish it compares favorably with the *Helen*. As to ratio of C. to N. C., it represents the norm of the epideictic class. The actual use of the C. type is very high. In the body of the work, the encomium proper, the author fairly revels in the construction.

That the ratio of C. to N. C. is not higher is due, I think, to the difference of theme. Eulogizing a modern, a man of his own time, the writer condescends to reason, to point out the bearing of the facts narrated on his thesis—the greatness of Evagoras. Hence a sprinkling of that form of N. C. ὦστε which is used in drawing inferences. In the *Helen*, moving in the region of the myths, where the most exaggerated praise was already conceded, there was the less occasion for this inferential use of the particle. The difference, then, is rather one of the spirit and purpose of the work than strictly stylistic.

Here, again, the average occurrence in the introduction and conclusion is small—less than one to two pages; while in the panegyric portion it is very large—over two to the page.

*Busiris* (C. 10 : N. C. 3).

The *Busiris* is rather an essay in literary criticism than true encomium, the eulogy on Busiris being introduced incidentally. The greater part of the work is taken up with pointing out the faults of method and errors of statement of a brother artist who had handled the theme. I cite a few points from Blass' characteristic.<sup>2</sup> "In comparison with the *Helen*, it is less sophistic"—

<sup>1</sup> *Die Attische Beredsamkeit*, II, p. 247.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 250.

"less brilliant, more composed and matured"—"the form is, on the whole, plainer."

That it attains to the proportion of C. which it exhibits—a little below the norm of the class—is due to the encomium proper. The piece affords an excellent illustration of the method of analysis, and I reserve it for further consideration under that head.

*Panathenaicus* (C. 29 : N. C. 10).

That the *Panathenaicus* should stand at the opposite extreme of the Epideictic class from the *Helen* is fully in keeping with the inherent difference in the style of the works. The strictures of Blass—*e. g.*, that the *Panathenaicus* is "less artistic than the earlier works"—"lacks final polishing"—"is careless in sentence-structure," etc.—have been, in substance, anticipated by the author himself, who expresses a fear (§ 4) that the work may appear *μαλακώτερος* in comparison with its predecessors, and alleges the plea of advanced age and physical infirmity. In view of these differences, the surprise is rather that it shows a proportion of C. ὥστε so nearly approaching that of the *Evagoras* and *Busiris*. The work falls naturally into three quite distinct blocks; and an analysis of it well supports the conception of the stylistic value of ὥστε advanced in this work.

The introduction (1–38) is taken up with a vindication of the author's pursuits and an exposition of his theory of culture; the panegyric on Athens (39–198) forms not much over half of the whole work; the supplement is personal narrative and explanation. The introduction is much more formal, and shows fuller working out, than the conclusion. The latter was written after the three years' interruption caused by illness, and shows traces of the circumstances attending its origin. It is rambling, almost conversational, in its negligence, containing, in fact, a good deal of reported conversation.

The introduction shows a ratio of C. to N. C. of 3 : 1; the panegyric proper, of 3.8 : 1; the conclusion, of 1 : 1.

Upon the remarkably low *average occurrence* of ὥστε in the *Panathenaicus* I am not prepared to generalize; I only note the fact that in this respect it stands among the lowest of all the



Isocratean works—only two hortatory discourses falling below it—and that its average use is only half that of the next higher epideictic oration. The fact that it is the latest of all Isocrates’ writings—separated by intervals of from 25 to 50 years from the other epideictic speeches—might lend some color to the theory of a later conscious avoidance of the particle, such as suggests itself in the case of the orators following Isocrates; but I do not find much to support this view. The phenomenon is chiefly interesting in view of somewhat similar results noted in connection with the oration next considered.

## 2. PHILOSOPHICAL.

### *De Permutatione* (C. 41 : N. C. 18).

A parallel might easily be set up between the speech *On the Antidosis* and the *Panathenaicus*. The former is the longest, as the latter is next to the longest, of the works of Isocrates. Both were written near the close of the author’s career; and in both he apologizes, in almost the same words, for his lack of vigor and deprecates comparison with his earlier works. Now the *Antidosis* falls to one-half the average occurrence of the other member of its class—the fragment *Contra Sophistas*—just as the *Panathenaicus* does with respect to the epideictic oration standing next above it, and in both instances the later work is separated from the earlier by a long interval of time. Still there are orations of almost equally late date in the other classes which show the normal occurrence; and it must be remembered that the *Contra Sophistas*, with which the *Antidosis* is here compared, is a mere fragment. On the whole, I do not see that much can be made out of the coincidence in this respect between the *Antidosis* and the *Panathenaicus*.

The *Antidosis* does not show any marked contrast in ratio of C. and N. C. with the earlier work of its class. It takes the form, says Blass, of an encomium on the author himself. He speaks of it as “more polished than one would suppose”—in view, presumably, of its length, shortness of time of composition, and the author’s own unfavorable estimate of it.

### 3. POLITICAL.

The comparative value of the tests of correlation and average occurrence is well illustrated by the group of orations designated as Political. In occurrence these show a remarkable uniformity. In ratio of C. to N. C. they are differentiated, not in the highest degree, but quite perceptibly, and in a way that accords well, on the whole, with their characteristic differences of subject and manner. The difference in ratio that separates each speech from those nearest to it on the list is not very striking, but a comparison of those occupying either extreme yields results suggestive enough.

#### *Areopagiticus* (C. 17 : N. C. 4).

At the head of the list stands the *Areopagiticus*, and next to it the *Panegyricus*. Both are mainly occupied in setting forth the virtues of the older Athenian democracy—the one (as Jebb points out) from the standpoint of internal, the other, of external affairs. Neither addresses itself to a very immediate or practical end. In both cases, the presentation shows that epideictic coloring to which the theme invites. The *Areopagiticus*, while cast in the form of a plea before the assembly, is not so much an argument as a statement of conditions—a series of contrasted pictures of Athenian life under the old and new *régimes*. Hence the note of characterization frequently recurs; there is an abundance of narrative and description, with a constant undercurrent of praise or blame. It is in this sphere of elevated description, of narrative touched with emotional warmth, that the stately effect of the period based on the use of *ὥστε* with a correlative is especially cultivated by our author.

#### *Panegyricus* (C. 39 : N. C. 13).

Little need be added to what has already been said of the *Panegyricus*. It is recognized by most modern, as it was by many ancient critics, as the most perfect, the most consciously artistic, of all Isocrates' works; and it is as an *encomium* on Athens that it is especially praised. On the skill and care of

the composition, and the moderation, at the same time, in the use of ornament as compared with earlier works like the *Helen*, cf. Blass, II, p. 264; also Brougham, *Edinb. Rev.*, XXXVI, p. 513. If we were to extend the limits of the Epideictic class as given in the table, the *Areopagiticus* and *Panegyricus* would probably be the first additions to suggest themselves. In the case of the *Panegyricus* especially, certain passages, or "episodes," give particular occasion for brilliant narrative, and I have accordingly marked it for more minute analysis.

*Philippus* (C. 24 : N. C. 14).

At the opposite end of the list stand the *Philippus* and *Archidamus*, in which the ratio of C. to N. C. falls below 2 : 1. The *Philippus* presents an excellent opportunity for comparison with the *Panegyricus*, coming nearest to it in length of all the Political orations, and, moreover, treating the same theme—the desirability of a combined Hellenic expedition against Persia. But there are significant differences in the mode of dealing with the subject; the treatment, if less brilliant, is here more practical. Being addressed to a definite individual—and one, too, whom Isocrates had some reason to hope to influence in the direction of his favorite project—the element of persuasion predominates over that of display. There is a more steady vein of argument and appeal—less of expanded narrative and brilliant episode. Historical parallels are often merely cited, instead of being dwelt on in detail. As to the style, we may note the author's own remarks (§ 25) on its lack of rhetorical ornament compared with his earlier works (see also Blass, II, p. 317, where it is compared with the *Panegyricus*). The sentences are, on the whole, less perfectly rounded and polished; there is an increased tendency to loose instead of periodic structure. The composition seems less adapted to oratorical delivery—more to that quiet perusal to which the author commends it.

*Archidamus* (C. 16 : N. C. 13).

The significance of the ᾠστε usage in the *Archidamus*, in which the N. C. type rises nearest to an equality with the C. for the

Political group, is perhaps less clear, yet one or two points may be noted that suggest a partial explanation. One may not, perhaps, venture to think of ethopoeia in this speech purporting to be spoken by a young Spartan prince on a vital question of state policy; yet there is an aggressiveness, an earnestness of tone and closeness of reasoning that adapts it to the serious purposes of deliberative oratory and distinguishes it especially from the epideictic manner. It is not without oratorical fullness and finish, and there is considerable use of historical material, but Blass notes (p. 292) that the sentences are not oratorically rounded.

Especially significant, I think, is the *character* of the sentences of the N. C. type. They are chiefly of two kinds—(1) the form of detached ὥστε sentence which is the instrument of formal logic (in keeping with that marked argumentative character of which I have just spoken); (2) an unusually large proportion of the "rare types," such as final and the so-called "superfluous" ὥστε. Out of twenty instances, at the most, of these "rare types" in all Isocrates' work, four occur in this oration. They constitute almost a third of the N. C. group of the Archidamus, and help to explain why it looms up so largely in comparison with the C.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. FORENSIC.

The widest variations in style in any one class of Isocrates' writings are to be found in the Forensic department; so, while it is hardest here to fix the standard or norm of the department and to speak of the characteristics of the class as a whole, this group lends itself especially well to a comparison of individual orations. Some have all the distinguishing characteristics which we associate peculiarly with Isocratean style; others show such a marked divergence from these in style and treatment as to constitute a new type—the true Forensic type—which is essentially different, as the orator himself recognized, from the usual manner of Isocrates. A glance at the table shows that this diversity in

<sup>1</sup>One of the examples referred to cannot be paralleled in Isocrates—(§ 4, εἰ μὲν γὰρ δεδειγμένον ὥστε τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους περὶ πάντων εἰδέναι τὸ βέλτιστον, κ. τ. λ.), where the ὥστε clause is not only used as subject of an impersonal verb, but is a practical equivalent for indirect discourse.

style is fully reflected in the ὥστε usage. As extreme representatives of two opposite tendencies, let us compare the *De Bigis* and *Adv. Euthynum*.

*De Bigis* (C. 18 : N. C. 4).

The *De Bigis* is ostensibly a defence spoken by the younger Alcibiades in a suit concerning a team of horses, of which, it is alleged, the plaintiff had been defrauded by the father of the defendant. As we have it, it is an incomplete work. The technical part—statement of the case, presentation of witnesses, legal argument, etc.—is spoken of in the opening of our fragment as concluded; what remains is a glorification of the elder Alcibiades, with a protest on the speaker's part against being punished on his father's account, and an attack on the prosecutor. The eulogy of Alcibiades is full and ornate, so that Jebb speaks with good reason of the "thoroughly epideictic character of the whole."

Blass says (II, p. 228) that, apart from the attack on Tisias—a very brief section—it is to be classed, not with the forensic works, but with the encomia; that "the composition displays all the brilliance and dignity of which Isocrates' manner is capable." We need not be surprised, then, to find this speech not only easily first in its class in the preference shown for C. ὥστε, but exceeded by no Isocratean work except the *Helen*. As an instance of the accumulation of the construction, and the effects to which it lends itself, cf. § 26–27.

*Adv. Euthynum* (C. 3 : N. C. 12).

The *Euthynus* is easily distinguished from all the other writings of Isocrates by its extreme brevity and simplicity; indeed, these qualities have caused it to be regarded with suspicion. Benseler, for one, declines to give it to Isocrates, not only on the score of hiatus, but on account of the brevity and compactness of the periods. One of the latest writers, Drerup, *Neu. Jahrb.*, Suppl. Bd. 22, p. 369, acquiesces in this view. There is but the barest word of introduction; the narrative shrinks to less than a page, and is confined to the merest outline of facts; all the rest is an argument from probabilities (the speech being ἀμάρτυρος), a series

of syllogisms, of general principles and logical inferences drawn therefrom as to the case in hand. Blass (II, p. 222) mentions this use of the developed syllogism as peculiar to this oration.<sup>1</sup> We might call the *Euthynus* the "ultra-forensic" specimen, in its close attention to argument and avoidance of ornament. It is such a piece as we could conceive Isocrates to have written for the very purpose of illustrating for his pupils the difference between the style appropriate to strictly forensic work and his own proper province.

These few pages fairly bristle with ὥστε's, but the C. stand to the N. C. as 1 : 4, and the latter are almost entirely of the logical inference type which belongs to formal argument. Thus the speech stands as the antipode of the *De Bigis* for the Forensic class; and in a survey of the whole Isocratean corpus it stands opposed most strikingly to the *Helen*, the two marking the extreme of stylistic variation, and also the extreme in the use of ὥστε, with their ratios of 1 : 4 and 8 : 1, respectively.

I shall not undertake here to apply the ὥστε test to the works standing between these two extremes; the differences are less striking, but still substantial. There is a gradation in stylistic tendencies, to which the ὥστε usage very fairly corresponds. The *Trapeziticus* and *Aegineticus*, especially the former, incline to the normal Isocratean manner and show epideictic tendencies; while the *Callimachus* and the *Lochites*, a fragment, occupy an intermediate place between this elaborate style and the bald exaggeration of forensic plainness exhibited by the *Euthynus*, and are the best representatives of the true forensic type in Isocrates. They show the closest approach to the standard of Lysias and Isaeus in their general style, and no less in their use of ὥστε.

## 5. HORTATORY.

The group of hortatory discourses also shows sufficient variety to give fair room for the application of the test. The tendency of the class would naturally be in favor of the N. C. type, and it

<sup>1</sup> For an example, see § 5.

will be found, in comparing the *Nicocles* and the *Ad Nicoclem*, that the ratio shifts according as the hortatory character is more or less strictly adhered to. The *Ad Nicoclem* is the truer representative of the type. Blass notes the absence of the ordinary Isocratean features—its lack of “glitter” and “swing,” and how “epideictic fullness dwindles to aphoristic brevity.” The *Nicocles* he ranks much higher, because in it “the dry admonitions are limited to an insignificant part of the whole.” The varying proportion of this “paraenetic” element, which in both works forms an easily recognizable division, to the whole tells, indeed, a large part of the story. In the *Ad Nicoclem* it forms one-half of the speech—in the *Nicocles*, only about one-fourth; and again, outside of the exhortation proper the *Nicocles* shows the more elaborate and polished style. Without presenting a full analysis of it, a glance at the most clearly contrasted sections will be of service.

In §§ 27–47 the speaker recounts, as a claim to obedience, the achievements and virtues of his immediate ancestors and of himself. Here we have the joyous swing of epideictic narrative; the sentences are longer and more artistically constructed than in the other sections, and the “grand roll” which is associated with *περιβολή* is distinctly perceptible. This topic occupies five pages and contains seven examples of *ὥς τε*, of which six are C. (one-third of the speech thus furnishing three-fourths of the examples of C. *ὥς τε*), while the strictly hortatory portion shows, in its four pages, but *one* instance of the C. The ratio of 6 C. : 1 N. C. in the highly epideictic section just referred to is set over against a ratio of 2 : 3 for the rest of the discourse; but even these latter portions are surpassed in preference for the N. C. by the *Ad Nicoclem*, with its ratio, for the whole work, of 2 : 5.

The *Ad Demonium* exhibits the most rigid type of a purely hortatory discourse. It is chiefly interesting in connection with our inquiry for its almost entire absence of *ὥς τε*—averaging .17 to the page. There is nothing else approaching this in the whole Isocratean corpus, and the fact perhaps deserves to be considered in connection with the questions that have been raised as to the genuineness of the work.

#### (4) COMPARISON OF PARTS OF SAME ORATION.

The last use made of the general test of correlation has been to apply it to different parts of the same oration, where there is a change of subject sufficiently marked to carry with it a distinct variation in style. Everything depends here, of course, on the care and fidelity with which the work is done. One must guard against making arbitrary divisions or magnifying minor differences. The process of analysis is facilitated, for Isocrates, by his fondness for inserting distinct "episodes,"<sup>1</sup> and his tendency to introduce these formally, in language which clearly indicates that a "show-piece" is about to be presented. Some hints of the method have been given in the preceding study of orations.<sup>2</sup> A few additional examples are here presented.

The *De Bigis*, though apparently a fragment, has sufficient compass to admit of such an analysis. The principal divisions may be characterized thus: (1) §§ 5–21 are narrative, but mixed with argument, the tone partly apologetic; (2) §§ 25–38 are pure narrative, the tone that of bold and unqualified panegyric; (3) §§ 39–50 are argument and personal plea. The first division shows an average occurrence of 2 to the page, and a ratio of C. : N. C. as 3 : 1; the second, average occurrence, 2.5, and of the ten examples of *Ωστε* every one is C.; the third, average occurrence, .67, and all examples N. C.

These results coincide closely with the observations of Drerup (N. J., Suppl. Bd. 22, pp. 350–1), who, in his study of this oration, makes the point that "the style is more ornate in *praise* than in *defence*;" classes the peroration (my third division) as forensic, the rest as epideictic, and concludes that this oration shows the sharp severance in Isocrates between the epideictic and the forensic diction.

The *Panegyricus*, in addition to its highly artistic character, has the practical advantage, for our present purpose, of being one of the longest of Isocrates' works. The parts into which it can

<sup>1</sup> Cf. D. of H., *De Orat. Antiq.*, Isoc., c. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See, e. g., the section on *Hel.*, p. 24; *Evag.*, p. 24; *Panath.*, p. 25; *Nic.*, p. 32.



be divided are of sufficient length to give fair scope for the statistical method. It contains two large sections,<sup>1</sup> aggregating one-half of the whole speech, which are evidently of the epideictic order—narrative colored by emotion, pieces of "fine writing," designed to call forth admiration or reprobation for the parties described and incidentally to exhibit the rhetorical powers of the author. The topics are, the glories of ancient Athens, the joint achievements of Athens and Sparta at the time of the Persian wars, and the disgraceful policy of Sparta and her partisans in recent years.

In this half of the speech C. stand to N. C. as 4.5 : 1, as against a ratio of 3 : 1 for the work as a whole, and 1.5 : 1 for those combined portions which show least of the epideictic quality (*i. e.*, the remainder of the speech, except 133–159, a passage dealing with the present condition of Persia and having something of the epideictic character, but less clearly marked than in the two divisions noted above, the narrative being more freely mingled with argument and appeal).<sup>2</sup>

In the *Areopagiticus*, the epideictic character is most marked in three portions, which together constitute three-fifths of the oration. Secs. 20–55 are a panegyric on the old democracy of Athens, setting forth its political, social, and religious character, and especially the beneficent workings of the court of Areopagus. Secs. 64–70 are of a historical nature, a *résumé* of the achievements of democratic Athens, in contrast with the period of the rule of the Thirty. In 79–83 we have a brief recapitulation of the excellences of the earlier as compared with the later order of things. In each of these divisions the language is elevated, and the eulogistic character is emphasized by the formal way in which these narratives are introduced.<sup>3</sup>

In the other two-fifths of the speech the author points out the present evils of the body politic, seeks to arouse and suggests remedies. Here there is less freedom of movement; he picks his

<sup>1</sup> 23–99; 115–128.

<sup>2</sup> Of the six N. C. examples in the strictly epideictic portion, four are final or object clause, one is logical inference, leaving but *one* example of ordinary result expressed without correlation.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. especially the closing words of 19 and 63 and the opening of 79.

way more carefully and adopts oftener the tone of argument and self-justification.

In the former group of passages, which, taken together, make up the epideictic division of the speech, the average occurrence of ὥστε is 1.57, and the ratio of C. to N. C., 8 : 1 ; in the latter, the average occurrence is .37, and the ratio of C. to N. C., 1 : 2.

The *Philippus* does not admit of analysis so readily as the *Panegyricus*, with which it is best compared. There is in it a more constant blending of the different elements—argument, exhortation, narrative, and personal explanation ; and so, as already noted, there is less of extended and ornate narration. Three rather short passages, however, may be taken as representing fairly well the epideictic element—47–55, 58–66, 106–112. These are somewhat elaborate bits of narrative, designed to set forth character in strong light and elicit praise or blame. The last two deal with the exploits of great men and heroes ; the first is a brief summary of the recent history of Sparta and other Greek states. The first and second are formally introduced as expanded topics.<sup>1</sup>

A study of these combined passages shows an average occurrence of ὥστε of 1.38, and a ratio of 3.5 C. : 1 N. C. (the ratio for the oration being 1.71 : 1). On the other hand, a group of passages<sup>2</sup> coming nearest to the pure argumentative type shows an average occurrence of .73, and C. to N. C. as 1 : 2.67.<sup>3</sup>

In the case of the *Busiris*, it is easy to distinguish a portion which partakes strongly of the epideictic character. The panegyric on *Busiris* (§§ 10–29) occupies a little less than half of the speech. The remainder consists of an *apology* for *Busiris*,<sup>4</sup> with literary criticism of Polycrates and other artists, advice, and self-justification.

As to the use of ὥστε, the encomium (10–29) has an average occurrence of 1.40 and a ratio of C. to N. C. of 7 : 0. The other parts, with an average occurrence of .92, show C. to N. C. as 1 : 1.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 46 and 58.

<sup>2</sup> The passages taken are 30–46, 68–80, 86–88, 113–123, 132–143, 149–155.

<sup>3</sup> A short passage of this oration (124–126), portraying the degeneracy of the Greeks of the time by a comparison with the barbarians, illustrates excellently the use of ὥστε in amplifying and subdividing a period. Here, in a single sentence, something less than a page in length, we have three examples of ὥστε, all correlative.

<sup>4</sup> Blass, II, pp. 247–8, carefully distinguishes between this and the panegyric.

The fact that in these and in other orations the average occurrence of ὥστε in the epideictic portions is generally higher than in other parts, while the ratio of C. to N. C. is so much greater, indicates clearly the large use of the correlative type in this kind of writing.

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## SPECIAL TYPES OF C. AND N. C.

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A few words should be added as to the further subdivisions of ὥστε sentences which I have found it useful to make in attempting to trace more exactly the stylistic effect of the construction. The simple division into C. and N. C. tells a great deal, but not all. These more minute divisions have occasionally been referred to in the preceding treatment of Isocrates, to whose works I have especially applied them. They are also assumed in the study of Demosthenes that follows.

### 1. OF N. C.

#### *Rare Types.*

It is particularly in the N. C. type that more minute classification seems to yield good results. I have first separated out of the N. C. class what I have spoken of as "rare types" in the orators. These include (1) the *pure final*, as Isoc. *Panath.* 184 . . . . ἀποκτεῖναι δ' ἂν τολμήσαντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς αὐτῶν . . . . ὥστε καὶ τὰ κείνων λαβεῖν ;

(2) The *condition*, or *stipulation* (ὥστε = ἐφ' ᾧ τε), as *Phil.* 133, ὅστις προαιρεῖται κινδυνεύειν ὥστ' ἢ ταῦτα λαβεῖν ἢ στερηθῆναι τῆς ψυχῆς ;<sup>1</sup>

(3) The so-called "*superfluous*" ὥστε, including the clauses used as (α) subject or object of an impersonal verb, like *ut* c. subj. in Latin, as *Archid.* 40, εἰ δὲ πολλάκις γέγονεν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gildersleeve, *A. J. P.*, VII, 168-9, on relation of this to the pure final type.

μείζω δύναμιν ἔχοντας . . . . κρατηθῆναι; (b) complementary to a verb, adjective, or noun which in itself implies tendency, as *Nic.* 45, λαβὼν δ' ἐξουσίαν ὥστε ποιεῖν ὅτι ἂν βούλωμαι; (c) epexegetic, i. e., in apposition with a substantive, or as explanatory of a demonstrative adjective, as *Aeg.* 47, εἰ . . . . καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῇ προσγένοιτο ὥστ' ἐπιδεῖν ἄκυρον, κ. τ. λ.<sup>1</sup>

The line between the several varieties included in this group is not always easy to draw. They are all rare in the best period of oratory, having, perhaps, something of an old-fashioned or conversational flavor. Antiphon and Andocides use them more freely than the others, after the manner of Herodotus and Thucydides. The list for Isocrates does not include more than twenty at most, of which about half are final (with an occasional approach to the ἐφ' ὅτε force).<sup>2</sup>

From the strictly grammatical point of view, they form an interesting study. They are too few in number to have any marked stylistic importance, unless their massing in a certain oration could be thought of as indicating a deliberate lowering of tone, an approach to conversational freedom; and the fact that they do not, from their nature, admit correlation excludes them from the scope of our principal inquiry.

### *Logical Inference: Simple Result.*

The great body of N. C. examples can be classified under the two heads here given.

The first includes those in which the ὥστε sentence expresses a logical inference (ὥστε = *itaque*). The result which it states is an opinion of the speaker, logically deduced from what has

<sup>1</sup> On the origin and nature of these constructions with "superfluous" ὥστε, cf. Seume, pp. 28-30; *A. J. P.*, VII, 170-171.

<sup>2</sup> I subjoin the complete list of examples, with an approximate classification: (1) *Paneg.* 83; *Paneg.* 96; *Arch.* 93; *De Pace* 111; *Hel.* 50; *Panath.* 184; *De Big.* 12; *Trap.* 55.

(2) *Paneg.* 111; *Nic.* 22; *Phil.* 133.

(3)—(a) *Arch.* 4; *Arch.* 40; *Ad Nic.* 4; *Cont. Soph.* 1. (b) *Nic.* 45<sup>(2)</sup>; *Arch.* 51; *Panath.* 251. (c) *Aeg.* 47<sup>(2)</sup>; *Paneg.* 89<sup>(2)</sup>.

The two examples under (3c) might, perhaps, be classed with (3a), since they seem to constitute the real subject and object.

gone before. It is very commonly followed by such expressions as *χρή, προσήκει, ἄξιόν ἐστι, δίκαιόν ἐστι*, etc.

This type can usually be distinguished, although there is no hard and fast line, from the second, in which the *ὥστε* clause or sentence expresses result of a more objective sort—the thing which happens, or tends to happen, as a consequence of what has just been stated.

The first I have called "logical" *ὥστε*; the second I have referred to, for the sake of distinction, as "simple tendency or result." As examples, compare two sentences already quoted (p. 11)—for (1), *Adv. Euth.* 5; for (2), *Ad Nic.* 49. Further examples of the "logical" type are: *Paneg.* 143, "Ὡστ' οὐδεὶς ἂν τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν . . . .", *Ad Nic.* 11, ὥστ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀσκητῶν οὕτω προσήκει τὸ σῶμα γυμνάζειν ὥς τοῖς βασιλεύουσι τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν αὐτῶν; of the other, *Paneg.* 142, πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ μηνῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας τὸν μισθὸν ἀπεστέρησεν, ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ πολλάκις ἂν διελύθησαν, *Call.* 54, ὥσθ' . . . . οὐδεμίαν ψῆφον μετέλαβον.

The logical type—the purest form of "detached" *ὥστε* sentence—is of secondary importance for *individual* style. It belongs primarily to the *sphere*, to the mode of treatment, being an index of the degree of attention paid to formal argument. In the leading orators it includes by far the greater part of N. C. *ὥστε*'s. It plays a lesser *role* relatively to the "simple result" type of N. C. in the earlier orators, in Aeschines, and in some of the inferior writers whose works have found their way into the corpus of Demosthenes, notably those of the Apollodorus group.

My main purpose in grouping these "logical" examples apart has been to determine the extent to which the "simple result" class is used, for it is this variety, I take it, which forms the most direct antithesis to the C. type. There is generally free room for choice between the sentence in which the *ὥστε* clause is *expressly* employed as the measure of degree, manner, or quality, and that in which the expression of tendency or result is merely added, without emphasis on the adverbial relation; and this choice is altogether likely to be influenced by the rhetorical effect inherent in the anticipating correlative.

According to my classification of examples, the "logical" ὥστε type stands to the "simple result" in Isocrates as 2.71 : 1. Some examples, especially those which involve a statement as to the future, stand on the border line and are difficult to classify ; but I am satisfied that any count made on this basis will not show more than half as many "simple result" as "logical" for Isocrates. Taking the number which I have allowed to the "simple result" class (35), and comparing it with that of C. ὥστε, the ratio stands 9.49 : 1 in favor of the latter, showing the great preference of this author for the form with correlation in expressing the pure consecutive relation.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. OF C.

### *Formulae.*

The division of the C. examples into sub-types is a matter of less importance for our purpose, yet some observations may be made here which are not without their bearing on the question of style.

The most readily distinguishable group is that of the "oratorical formulae" (treated by Seume, pp. 51-53, and Berdolt, pp. 93-96), in which the ὥστε clause regularly takes the indicative. The expressions which present most distinctly the formulaic character, and to which I have therefore devoted especial study, are :

(1) εἰς τοῦτο (τοσοῦτον) ἦκειν ὥστε (the demonstrative being used substantively, with or without a limiting genitive, followed by various verbs of "coming") ;

(2) εἰς τοσαύτην . . . ἦκειν ὥστε (the demonstrative here being used adjectively with some substantive) :

(3) τοσοῦτου δεῖν (c. *inf.*) ὥστε (in which a fact is brought out more strongly by denial of the opposite) ;

<sup>1</sup> The "coalesced" οὕτως ὥστε with finite verb, as used by Herodotus (vid. p. 12, n. 1), having a certain affinity with both the C. and N. C. types, does not exist in Isocrates. One instance with the infinitive occurs—Panath. 38, εὐλογεῖν τολμώντων οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνως ἀλλ' οὕτως ὥστε πολλοὺς ἀντιτάττεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς—where οὕτως stands immediately before ὥστε ; but it has its full adverbial force, and its position is determined by requirements of emphasis and contrast. There is a similar case of juxtaposition with τοιοῦτος—De l'ermut. 189 (noted by Seume, p. 36), and one with τηλικούτος—Bus. 22 (cf. Lys. 24, 4).

(1) τοσοῦτον ἀπέχει τοῦ (c. inf.) ὥστε (with same force as the preceding);

(2) τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν (the difference between two persons or things being expressed in two contrasted members of the ὥστε clause).

These formulae, the free use of which is peculiar to oratory,<sup>1</sup> reach their highest occurrence in Isocrates and Lysias, constituting almost a third of the C. examples which the latter employs; while Antiphon, Andocides, Isaeus, and Aeschines use them much more sparingly, differing very slightly from each other as to frequency of these expressions. Aeschines not only shows much the smallest average occurrence, but, in the two examples which he does employ,<sup>2</sup> he departs from the conventional type by employing unusual verbs to express the idea of "coming."<sup>3</sup>

The laws as to mood in these formulaic ὥστε sentences, and the occasional peculiarities which they exhibit, have been adequately presented, for the principal orators, by Seane, pp. 51-53. Our interest in them here lies in their stylistic significance, and from this point of view they fall to be considered as part of a larger group in the section which follows. I add merely a statement of the number of examples of each expression in the two orators who use them most largely.

Isocrates has 25 examples of αὐτὸς τοσοῦτον ἀπέχει, 5 of αὐτὸς τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν, 13 of αὐτὸς τοσοῦτον ἀπέχει, 5 of αὐτὸς τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν.

The two orators who use αὐτὸς τοσοῦτον ἀπέχει, 5 of αὐτὸς τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν, 13 of αὐτὸς τοσοῦτον ἀπέχει, 5 of αὐτὸς τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν, are Isocrates and Lysias. Isocrates has 25 examples of αὐτὸς τοσοῦτον ἀπέχει, 5 of αὐτὸς τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν, 13 of αὐτὸς τοσοῦτον ἀπέχει, 5 of αὐτὸς τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν. Lysias has 5 examples of αὐτὸς τοσοῦτον ἀπέχει, 5 of αὐτὸς τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν, 13 of αὐτὸς τοσοῦτον ἀπέχει, 5 of αὐτὸς τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν.

<sup>1</sup> See Seane, pp. 51-53. The formulae are used in the same way in the other orators.

<sup>2</sup> Aeschines, *Against Timarchus*, § 112, and *Against Ctesiphon*, § 112. In the first example the verb is ἀφίσταται, in the second ἀφίσταται.

<sup>3</sup> Aeschines, *Against Timarchus*, § 112, and *Against Ctesiphon*, § 112. In the first example the verb is ἀφίσταται, in the second ἀφίσταται.

καθίστημι, which I have treated as a verb of "coming" here and in two cases in Isocrates (De Pace 84; Paneg. 60).

Under (3) I have included one case of οὕτω πολλοῦ δεῖν (Lys. 30, 8); and under (4), one of οὕτως ἦν πόρρω τοῦ (Isoc. Panath. 77).

In one of the examples under (5) there is but a single clause with ὥστε, but the sense of "differ" is clearly present, and the contrasted member is readily supplied in thought from the preceding sentence. I have not included under this head cases of τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν in which the meaning is rather "to excel" than "to differ" (e. g., Paneg. 4; Evag. 24; Evag. 71). There are a number of expressions which, like this, are frequently followed by ὥστε in Isocrates, but they do not quite attain to that regularity in phrasing and in mood which would entitle them to rank with the formulae here treated.

#### *General and Particular.*

In studying these formulae, I was struck with an observation of Seume's (p. 51) that, in these formulaic sentences, "the facts stated in the ὥστε clause have *more force* than the causes from which they spring;" and that, "while, *formally*, qualities or conditions are illustrated by their effects, in actual use this form serves to set forth particular facts." I was led to examine other ὥστε sentences to which this description seemed equally applicable, and, finally, to mark off a type of which the oratorical formulae constitute only a group which has crystallized into a definite form and has a fixed law of mood in the ὥστε clause. This type I have called "general + particular." It is that form of C. ὥστε sentence in which an act, quality, or condition is defined, not by some fact or circumstance which flows from it, but by giving a *particular example* of the act, quality, or condition. Compare, in English, "I am so fortunate that I am envied by my friends" with "I am so fortunate as to have many friends." In the latter case there is no true external result, as in the former. The relation is, to our *feeling*, more one of comparison than of consequence proper.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Seume, p. 40.



So, in Paneg. 29, οὕτως ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον θεοφιλῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἔσχευ, ὥστε . . . οὐκ ἔφθόνησε τοῖς ἄλλοις, κ. τ. λ., the φιλανθρωπία does not so much *result* in not envying; it *consists* in it. Set this off against the sentence quoted on p. 10 (Hel. 37), or the one in Paneg. 70, . . . τοσοῦτον . . . διέλιπον ὥστε ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ . . . κατοικισθῆναι, and cf., for further examples of the G. + P. type, Paneg. 24, 79; Hel. 47, 62; Autid. 16; Aeg. 31; Lys. 1.10<sup>(2)</sup>: 3.33.<sup>1</sup>

In such sentences, as Seume points out in connection with the formulae, the ὥστε clause is likely to be more important than the main clause which precedes it, and which serves as a sort of generalizing introduction. Of course, the question of the relative degree of stress falling on the main and ὥστε clause is one that may often suggest itself, and the decision of which, resting largely on subjective considerations, must be essayed with caution. Where there is a true cause and effect relation, the first member has a *prima facie* claim to at least equal rights with the second; but here, where the consecutive relation is rather formal than inherent in the thought, the main clause is more naturally felt as a mere preface to the particular statement, which gains weight and emphasis by the suspense.

Not infrequently the context is such as to strengthen greatly the impression that the specific statement in the ὥστε clause is that on which attention is concentrated, and for the sake of which the sentence was introduced. It may form one of a series of particular statements in a narration, or be in marked antithesis to such a statement in a preceding sentence or member, while the generalization may be only a repetition of one previously made and be quite unnecessary from the standpoint of thought.<sup>2</sup>

The fact that the finite verb is the *prevailing* mood-form with ὥστε in this "G. + P." type—as it is virtually the *only* one employed in the special subdivision of "formulae" already considered—helps also to emphasize the importance of the ὥστε clause as an independent statement in these sentences.

<sup>1</sup> As already intimated, almost the entire group of "oratorical formulae" exemplify this relation—e. g., Bus. 14. In De Big. 16, Loch. 8, the εἰς τοῦτο idiom seems to be followed by a clause of true result, but such instances are sufficiently rare.

<sup>2</sup> For illustrations of this point, cf. Paneg. 24, 29, 79.

The importance of this type rhetorically I conceive to lie in the fact that it can be multiplied almost at will, for a great many particular statements are susceptible of this sort of generalizing or characterizing introduction. An author like Isocrates, who is fond of responsive effect and periodic structure, will, when the relation of cause and effect, of fact and consequence, lies naturally in the thought, choose the form of the οὕτως-ὥστε sentence for its expression. But he can do more; he can *cultivate* the correlative consecutive period by the free use of this "general + particular" form of statement, and gain by the circumlocution not only responsion, but emphasis and other desirable rhetorical effects.

That the type should flourish especially in the more ornate kinds of writing is, then, the thing to be expected, and it occasions no surprise to find that, while Isocrates employs it largely everywhere, it is in the Political and Epideictic classes that he avails himself of it most freely. In these two divisions, according to my count, over 40 per cent. of the whole number of C. ὥστε sentences are to be assigned to the G. + P. type, while, in the other three departments, it constitutes something less than 30 per cent. It may be held, of course, that the use of this kind of sentence is determined by considerations of thought rather than style; that it merely offers a convenient form for stamping an act, in the process of narrating it, with its appropriate character. That this element enters largely into its use is not to be disputed, and it may be noted here that there are certain private orations of Isocrates and Demosthenes, and especially of Lysias, that show a use of the type exceeding that of the more elaborate compositions. Here the dominant motive would seem to be the desire for characterization, the narrative being employed to "make points" on the conduct of one of the parties in the suit. As instances of this sort may be cited Lys. 1.10<sup>(2)</sup>; 3.33; 14, 42; Isoc. Aeg. 31. A large use of the type may thus be a mark of the manner of a "plain" speaker, especially one whose prevailing tone is that of naïve indignation;<sup>1</sup> but in such cases the type appears in a simple, colloquial form, the clauses are short, and there is a tendency towards the infinitive in the ὥστε clause. A close study of the various instances, in their sentence-structure

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lys., Or. 1 and Or. 3.

and context, must be our warrant for seeing in the use of this form of duplicated statement in the more finished works of Isocrates something more than the desire to characterize—the influence of those distinctly *rhetorical* motives which count for so much with this author. It must suffice here merely to call attention to an apparent tendency which deserves more minute study and fuller presentation, especially in connection with the works of Isocrates and Demosthenes.

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### EQUIVALENTS.

A study of a construction from the standpoint of style should make some account of those expressions which are logically equivalent—especially if these have sufficient elements of similarity to suggest a more or less conscious choice between them and the expression under consideration. We cannot, of course, undertake here a study of all the different forms in which the relations of causation and consecution appear in the language, but we can examine those which have enough in common with the construction in hand to warrant us in thinking of them as substitutes for it. These, again, may claim consideration from two different points of view. Where the “equivalent” construction is one that illustrates the same *rhetorical* tendency as the one under consideration, it becomes necessary to note the extent of its use in order that we may add the cases of the equivalent to those of the dominant construction, and thus give a more exact statement of the degree to which the tendency in question is cultivated. If, on the other hand, we find similar elements combined in a way which produces an opposite rhetorical effect, it becomes highly important to measure the relative strength of these opposing tendencies.

Of the additional forms for expressing the consecutive relation which I have selected for study, the greater number come under the first head—*i. e.*, they are both logically and rhetorically equivalent to the (correlative) consecutive sentence. The last to be considered is an example of a close logical equivalent in which some of the features of the *οὕτως-ὥς τε* sentence occur but an opposite rhetorical tendency is illustrated.

The expressions which are here examined for the orators have been treated for the first time (in another domain) by Berdolt, whose work appeared after I had gathered most of my material under this head.

Οὕτως—ὅστις.

The closest logical and rhetorical equivalent for the οὕτως—ὥστε sentence is that in which a οὕτως in the main clause finds its complement in a relative clause following.<sup>1</sup> Grammatically, the relative goes back to its antecedent and adds a description; but *in sense* it joins on to οὕτως, with the adverbial effect of a clause of tendency, expressing the *degree* of a quality already predicated of the antecedent. It would seem to be a mixture of two constructions—τίς ἔστι, ὅστις . . . . and τίς ἐστι οὕτως—ὥστε . . . . A large use of this form of sentence would require us to attribute to a given author—*e. g.*, Isocrates—an even greater fondness for the correlative consecutive period than is indicated by the statistics for the regular οὕτως—ὥστε sentence alone; but, in point of fact, the construction plays an insignificant part in the whole work of this orator. I have collected all the examples of this type of equivalent which he employs, and find but nine in all.

οὕτως—ὅστις (a) c. fut. ind.:

Paneg. 185, τίς γὰρ . . . οὕτως ῥάθυμός ἐστιν, ὅστις οὐ μετασχεῖν βουλήσεται . . , Panath. 66, τίς ἐστιν οὕτως ἀφυής, ὅστις οὐκ εὐρήσει . . .

(b) c. opt. + ἄν:

Paneg. 98, οὐδεὶς . . . οὕτως ἔχει δυσμενῶς, ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειε . . . , De Permut. 210, μηδὲν οὕτως ἂν φήσειαν εἶναι φαῦλον, ὅτι . . . οὐκ ἂν εἴη βέλτιον, 218, τίς οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀναίσθητος, ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἀλγήσειε, 222, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν οὕτως ἀκρατής, ὅστις ἂν δέξαιτο . . . ,<sup>2</sup> Evag. 35, οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐστὶν οὕτω ῥάθυμος, ὅστις ἂν δέξαιτο . . .<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See examples below.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is bracketed by Blass (Teub. ed.); but he holds it to have been originally composed for the place by Isocrates.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Panath. 172, οὐδένα . . τοσαύτης ἀμαθίας εἶναι, ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἐπαινέσειέ . . .

(c) c. pres. ind.:

Hel. 2, τίς ἐστὶν οὕτως ὀψιμαθής, ὅστις οὐκ οἶδε . . .

(d) c. past ind.:

Paneg. 113, τίς οὕτω πόρρω . . . ἦν . . . , ὅστις οὐκ . . . ἠναγκάσθη . . .

Of these nine examples, the Panegyricus and De Permutatione each furnish three. It will be noted that all these examples adhere closely to a conventional type—that seen in Shakspeare's "Who so base who would not be a Roman?" The main clause always denies—either directly or by means of a rhetorical question—the existence of a certain class of persons or things, and the tendency referred to in the dependent clause is accordingly always a theoretical one, never passing into actual result. This apparent equivalent for the οὕτως-ὥστε sentence is therefore employed only within a certain restricted territory; and within this territory it reigns supreme. Isocrates never uses οὕτως-ὥστε in sentences of this class, but always οὕτως-όστις.<sup>1</sup>

My collection for the other orators is not exhaustive; but they seem to make even less use of it than Isoc., with the possible exception of Dem., who uses it rather freely in certain orations—*e. g.* De Symm. He also allows, not infrequently, the οὕτως-ὥστε construction in sentences of this type.

## Τοιοῦτος-ὅς.

A less clearly defined type of relative consecutive sentence is that in which the relative has a correlative τοιοῦτος or τοσοῦτος in the main clause—the type treated by Seume, pp. 14–18, where numerous examples are presented. Of course, this combination does not *necessarily* involve the consecutive relation; but very frequently the relative clause sets forth the generic character of its antecedent in such a way as clearly to express tendency and suggest the ὥστε clause as a natural equivalent. Sometimes the notion of result is brought out more clearly by the use of prepositions ex-

<sup>1</sup> For an example of the regular consecutive clause in such a connection, cf. Isae. 3, 51—δοκεῖ δ' ἂν τις ὑμῖν οὕτως ἀναιδής . . . γενέσθαι, ὥστε μηδὲ ἐπιδοῦναι . . . ; cf. also Dem. 8, 44 (*v. l.* ὅς); 10, 15; 10, 43; 19, 115.

pressing cause or means, as in the phrase ἐξ ὧν; sometimes it resides partly in the modal form employed in the relative clause, as in the use of the optative or indicative with ἄν, or the generic future, which employs μή as its negative.

The following examples will serve to illustrate some of the familiar forms of sentence in which we may infer the consecutive relation more or less distinctly.

Isoc. Soph. 21, οὐδεμίαν ἡγοῦμαι τοιαύτην εἶναι τέχνην, ἥτις . . . ἂν καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐμποιήσειεν.

Paneg. 109, τοσάντην δὲ χώραν παρελίπομεν, ἥ πάντας ἂν ἡμᾶς εὐπορωτέρους ἐποίησεν.

Paneg. 189, οὐ πρόπει . . . τοιαῦτα λέγειν, ἐξ ὧν ὁ βίος μηδὲν ἐπιδώσει.

Paneg. 76, ὅστις τοιαῦτα τυγχάνοι πράττων, ἐξ ὧν αὐτός τε μέλλοι μάλιστα εὐδοκιμήσειν, (cf. Enag. 80.)

Plat. 32, τίνα τηλικαύτην εὐεργεσίαν ἔχοιεν ἂν εἰπεῖν, ἥτις ἱκανὴ γενήσεται . . . ;

De Pace 107, τοιαῦτα προηρούμεθα πράττειν, ἐξ ὧν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δεσπότες τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέστησαν.

De Permut. 56, ὅτι τοιούτους γράφω λόγους, οἳ καὶ τὴν πόλιν βλάπτουσι . . .

Nic. 5, τοιούτῳ πράγματι δυσμενῶς ἔχοντες, δ . . . πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτιὸν ἐστίν.

One or two of the examples in this list are of a sort in which the equivalence to a ὥστε construction is at least questionable. There are others in which a relative clause complementary to τοιούτος or τοσοῦτος serves to describe an antecedent without any suggestion of characteristic tendency. And again, care must be taken to exclude from this consideration instances in which a relative clause after τοιούτος or τοσοῦτος is not complementary to it, but additional and non-restrictive, the demonstrative pointing *back* to an idea previously expressed. An attempt to present a complete list of true equivalents for ὥστε under this head would involve discussion in not a few instances, and I have not undertaken to give such a collection here; but the number of cases where such force is sufficiently clear is considerable, and we are justified in putting it down as a familiar form of expression in the orators, and one which serves to accentuate their partiality for the expression

of the consecutive relation through the aid of correlation. It is safe to add that the use of this form of equivalent in Lysias is by no means so great as in Isocrates.

### Τοσοῦτον—ὅσον.

Another form of equivalent for the ὥστε clause is to be found in the use of the correlation τοσοῦτον—ὅσον in certain sentences—chiefly those which set forth the degree of difference between two persons or things. Phil. 51 may serve as an illustration: τοσοῦτον δὲ διαφέρουσιν, ὅσον ἐκείνοι μὲν πρὸς ἡττους αὐτῶν [πολεμοῦσι], οὗτοι δὲ πρὸς κρείττους. Here we have a *general* statement of difference, followed by two contrasted clauses setting forth opposite courses of conduct, the juxtaposition of these two giving the effect of a *specific* statement of difference. The connection between the general and special statements is made, logically enough, by τοσοῦτον—ὅσον, a formula of comparison.<sup>1</sup> Yet it is not uncommon to find sentences which involve exactly the same thought relation employing the *consecutive* formula (e. g., Call. 34), so that we are fully justified in regarding τοσοῦτον—ὅσον and τοσοῦτον—ὥστε, in sentences of this type, as equivalents. The rhetorical effect of these two pairs of correlatives is the same; but the number of instances of the τοσοῦτον—ὅσον formula is not sufficient to make a very significant addition to our list of correlative periods based upon a real or apparent consecutive relation. It becomes, however, a matter of curious interest to observe the preference shown for one or other of these virtually equivalent expressions by the orator who employs them most largely. I have collected all the sentences in which difference is thus expressed with τοσοῦτον—ὥστε or ὅσον in Isocrates, classifying them under the following heads:

1. Statement of difference in character, condition, or conduct by means of *contrasted clauses*, (a) with διαφέρειν—cf. Call. 34, Phil. 51 (quoted above); (b) with other expressions—cf. De Pace 47, τοσοῦτῳ δὲ χείρους ἐσμέν τῶν προγόνων . . . ὅσον ἐκείνοι μὲν . . . ὥοντο δεῖν κινδυνεύειν, ἡμεῖς δ' . . . μισθωτοῖς χρώμεθα στρατοπέδοις.

<sup>1</sup> Such a comparative relation is seen, in its simplest form, in the English sentence, "He lives as much as a mile away."

2. Expression of difference in terms of *one member* of the comparison—the contrast being *implied*, not expressed, in the subordinate clause, (a) with διαφέρειν—cf. Panath. 55, τοσοῦτον ἐκείνοι διήνεγκαν ἀνομία καὶ πλεονεξία τῶν προγεγενημένων, ὥστ οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς ἀπώλεσαν . . . . , ἀλλὰ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους . . . ἐνέβαλον ; (b) with other expressions—cf. De Permut. 235, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων προσέσχον αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν, ὥστε Σόλων μὲν τῶν ἑπτα σοφιστῶν ἐκλήθη . . . . . Περικλῆς δὲ δυοῖν ἐγένετο μαθητῆς . . . . .

The type marked (1) (a) amounts to a fixed formula, being a rhetorical circumlocution of the "general + particular" sort (a single example, in Isocrates, seems to show true external result), and always taking the indicative in the dependent clause. Here Isocrates alternates between ὥστε and ὅσον, apparently influenced only by desire for variety. He has 5 examples with ὥστε—De Pace 85, De Big. 35, Call. 34, Aeg. 17, De Pace 127—and 4 with ὅσον—Paneg. 83, Phil. 51, Phil. 112, De Pace 54.

In the case of the type (1) (b)—contrasted clauses introduced by expressions other than διαφέρειν—Isocrates prefers the form with ὅσον, employing it 9 times, as against the 4 instances of ὥστε which have any claim to be classed under this head. It may be noted, too, that the sentences with ὅσον have a decidedly uniform character, all but one being expressions of degree of difference as to a *particular quality* and employing a comparative adjective or adverb. They also incline to the "G. + P." type, and all take the indicative. Τοσοῦτον and τοσούτῳ are used indifferently.

The examples are—for ὥστε, Phil. 125, Arch. 94, Hel. 16, De Perm. 22; for ὅσον, Ad Dem. 33, Ad Dem. 38, De Pace 43, De Pace 47, De Pace 143, Bus. 19, Bus. 32, Soph. 20, De Big. 36.

The examples collected under (2) (a) and (b)—in which a difference is expressed with a single subordinate clause instead of two contrasted ones—are of a less uniform character than those treated under the two preceding heads. Like those under (1) (b), they are nearly all expressions of degree of difference as to a *given quality*—superiority or inferiority. In several of them, the subordinate clause is so worded as to make a distinct comparison; in most, the specific character of one member only is set forth and the contrast is implied. The "general + particular" type



is less closely adhered to, a number of cases showing true external result.

But, for the sake of completeness, it seemed best to include here all those sentences which have the common element of *expressing a difference* and in which it is at least conceivable that *ὅσον*, as well as *ὥστε*, might have been used. In point of fact, the former is all but non-existent, for Isocrates, in sentences of this class. Under (2) (a)—with *διαφέρειν*—we find 7 examples with *ὥστε*—Paneg. 4, Paneg. 64, Paneg. 98, Evag. 14, Evag. 24, Evag. 71, Panath. 55—none with *ὅσον*. Under (2) (b)—with other expressions—we have 8 cases of *ὥστε*—Bus. 29, De Big. 26, Evag. 67, Hel. 60, Paneg. 50, Paneg. 147, De Permut. 235, Call. 48—to *one* of *ὅσον*—De Pace 96.

The proper sphere, then, of *τοσοῦτον-ὅσον* as an equivalent for *ὥστε* is in the expression of difference by means of *two contrasted clauses*; and here, outside of the fixed formula *τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν*, it is decidedly the dominant construction.

The use of these correlative forms for expressing difference or comparison is a special characteristic of Isocrates, among the orators, and we scarcely meet them again except in Demosthenes. Lysias shows not a single example of the fuller form, with contrasted clauses, and only one of the incomplete type—24. 13, *τοσοῦτον δὲ διενήνοχεν ἀναισχυντία τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ὥστε ὑμᾶς πειρᾶται πείθειν . . . .*

That Isocrates should be partial to this form of sentence is quite in keeping with the general tendencies of his style. The balance afforded by the contrasted clauses—when the fuller form is employed—and the responsive effect of the correlative period would alike commend it to him. The influence of the latter consideration comes out still more clearly when we take into account another method of setting forth a difference, which may be regarded as an equivalent for *τοσοῦτον-ὥστε* and *τοσοῦτον-ὅσον*.

#### *Τοσοῦτον Paratactic.*

We occasionally find an expression of difference in which *τοσοῦτον* points forward to a pair of contrasted statements, the latter being added paratactically, without the *ὥστε* or *ὅσον*

which, in the type treated above, completes the syntactic connection and marks the relation as comparative-consecutive. Two instances of this I have noted in the corpus of Lysias—2.16, τοσοῦτον δὲ εὐτυχέστεροι παῖδες ὄντες ἐγένοντο τοῦ πατρός· ὁ μὲν γάρ . . . οὐκ οἶός τε ἦν τιμωρήσασθαι . . οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὐτοῦ . . . εἶδον . . .; 6. 17, τοσοῦτο δ' οὗτος Διαγόρου τοῦ Μηλίου ἀσεβέστερος γεγένηται. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γάρ . . . , οὗτος δὲ . . . But Or. 6—Against Andocides—is a work of very doubtful authorship.

It may not be without significance that Lysias, in the only clear case in which he thus uses τοσοῦτον to anticipate and emphasize a formal contrast, employs this non-correlative, paratactic form; while Isocrates, in the much greater extent of his work, and with his fondness for using τοσοῦτον in the way referred to, never avails himself of it—that is, he never misses the opportunity to round his period by means of correlation.<sup>1</sup>

#### Τοσοῦτον—ὅτι.

There is still another formula for expressing a specific difference with τοσοῦτον, of which Isocrates furnishes a single instance—Call. 59, τῶν μὲν πλείστων τριηράρχων τοσοῦτον διήνεγκον, ὅτι μετ' ὀλίγων ἔσωσα τὴν ναῦν . . . While the ὅτι clause is perhaps best explained as causal, the thought-relation is practically the same as in those sentences, of the single clause type, treated above which show ὥστε or ὅσον. We have here neither parataxis nor yet correlation, in the strict sense; but the rhetorical effect is closely akin to that produced by the latter construction.<sup>2</sup>

#### Τοιοῦτος—οἶος c. inf.

The combination τοιοῦτος—οἶος followed by the infinitive—a close logical and rhetorical equivalent for τοιοῦτος—ὥστε—is almost

<sup>1</sup> The nearest approach to this form of expression that I have noted in Isocrates is in Areop. 69, where τοιοῦτον points forward to a pair of contrasted clauses introduced by γάρ.

<sup>2</sup> I have observed only one other instance in the orators in which τοσοῦτον—ὅτι might be ranked as an equivalent for τοσοῦτον—ὥστε, though not, as above, in an expression of difference—Ps. Lys. 8. 20, κερδανῶ δὲ τοσοῦτον, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ὑμῶν ἀπαλλαγὴς ἐλάχιστα κακῶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν πείσομαι.

entirely absent from the orators.<sup>1</sup> I can produce but three examples—Isoc. 15, 99 ; Dem. 21, 202 ; Aesch. 3, 243. Its employment in these sentences hardly suggests rhetorical motives. In only one example are the correlatives sufficiently separated to give balance, and in all, the infinitive follows immediately the relative. But the non-correlative form of the construction, with *τοιούτος* omitted, is still rarer. I have noted only two examples—both in Isocrates—11, 16 ; 8, 21.

Of the corresponding use of *τοσοῦτον-ὅσον* c. inf. Isocrates furnishes the solitary example—De Permut. 98, *τούτοις . . . . τοσοῦτον μόνον ἐχρώμην, ὅσον ὀφθῆναι διαλεγόμενος.*<sup>2</sup>

#### INVERTED EXPRESSION OF RESULT.

Lastly, we come to consider a method of expressing the consecutive relation which has hitherto received little attention—the type illustrated in Dem. 18. 11, *οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοῦτο· οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι*, or 22. 68, *ἀλλὰ δ' ὅσ' ὑβρικεν, οὐδ' ἂν ἔχοι τις εἰπεῖν. τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθός ἐστιν*. Here we have the same paratactic structure as in the form with *τοσοῦτον* examined above ; the consecutive relation is inferred rather than expressed, and the demonstrative, with the aid of juxtaposition, is made to do the work of full syntactical correlation. But there is here the further element of *inversion* of the usual order. In the other form of equivalent, *τοσοῦτον* pointed *forward* to a result to be stated immediately after ; in the examples just quoted, *οὕτως* and *τοσαῦτα* point *back* to one already expressed.

This latter arrangement is one of especial importance from the standpoint of the present study. It gives the effect of liveliness referred to by Gildersleeve<sup>3</sup> as belonging to marked instances of inversion. The thought of the hearer is suddenly arrested by the demonstrative and thrown back upon the preceding sentence, and a rapid mental readjustment takes place as the relation of cause and consequence becomes apparent in this unaccustomed sequence. The element of "surprise," of "interjectional effect," thus intro-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Berdolt, p. 99—"rare in Plato."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ὅσον*, without correlative, followed by *ptc.* in Panath. 150.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. *supra*, p. 10, for quotation.

duced puts this form of result in marked opposition rhetorically, not only to the fully developed correlative period, but also to the N. C. ὥστε and to the paratactic equivalent treated above, in both of which the adherence to the well-established order of cause and effect makes it easier to supply the missing οὕτως or ὥστε, and preserves the deliberate orderliness of the consecutive sentence. In the earlier part of this work, the N. C. ὥστε has been spoken of as an "afterthought," because the way is not prepared for it by an anticipating correlative; but in this postponed, or retrospective, οὕτως we have an "afterthought" effect of a still more striking character.

I have thought it worth while to endeavor to make a full collection of the instances of this form of equivalent in the seven orators studied. The consecutive relation being here a matter of inference, there is room for some difference of opinion as to whether certain cases are true equivalents for the ὥστε construction, especially where the relation is rather of the "general and particular" sort than result in the strict sense; but I have aimed to include in this list only examples about which there can be little question. In considering this phenomenon in Plato, Berdolt, p. 98, treats separately sentences employing οὕτως and those showing τοιοῦτος or τοσοῦτος—a distinction which seems to be unnecessary for our present purpose. The list of passages follows:

Isaeus.—2, 21; 2, 37; 5, 10; 5, 11; 7, 21; 7, 23; 11, 6.

Lysias.—1, 2; 1, 32; 2, 57; 3, 13; 10, 28; 12, 84; 13, 31.

Antiphon.—6, 35; 6, 50.

Aeschines.—1, 56; 1, 157; 2, 125; 2, 150.

Isocrates.—4, 16; 4, 87; 4, 141; 4, 157; 7, 38; 12, 15; 15, 107; 15, 134; 16, 37.

Demosthenes.—8, 25; 14, 24; 18, 11; 19, 267; 22, 68; 24, 3; 45, 2; 27, 25; 27, 31; 30, 6; 30, 8; 30, 14; 30, 38.

It will be seen that the construction is not a great favorite with the orators in general. Andocides furnishes no example, unless we include one which occurs in 4, 23—an oration which is denied to Andocides by the most careful critics. The average occurrences to the page are so small, and the margins of difference between them so slight, that a table made on this basis yields no striking

results. It is sufficient to note that the orators stand, as to average occurrence, in the order in which they are placed in the list of examples given above. Isaeus makes the largest use of it (average occurrence .05), Lysias comes next, with .03, while the others differ by much smaller margins, Isocrates and Demosthenes standing at the foot of the list, with practically the same average occurrence—.02.

As this form of expression is most directly opposed to the C. *Ὦστε* construction, a comparison of the relative frequency of these two might seem to be the truer index of style, and such a table is here submitted.

Ratio of Inverted Result : C. *Ὦστε*.

Antiphon .....	1 : 3	Lysias.....	1 : 15
Isaeus .....	1 : 5.5	Demosthenes.....	1 : 16
Aeschines.....	1 : 8.5	Isocrates.....	1 : 37

The differences are more perceptible than in the former comparison, based on average occurrence. Antiphon heads the list in relative employment of the equivalent form, but his use of both forms is exceedingly small. Isaeus comes next, while Demosthenes and Isocrates again stand lowest, although the latter shows a far smaller relative use of the equivalent than the former. The comparatively free use of this abrupt, vigorous form of expression in the pleadings of Isaeus, and its rare occurrence in the rounded smoothness of Isocrates, seems to be fairly characteristic of their respective styles, and is the most significant feature exhibited by the tables.

A glance at the examples cited above for Demosthenes will show that nearly half of them come from the "guardianship orations"—Orr. 27–31. Thus, while the works of Demosthenes, as a whole, stand lowest in average occurrence of the "inverted result" form, and next to lowest in the proportion of it to C. *Ὦστε*, these speeches stand easily first in both respects—average occurrence .15—ratio 1 : 2.33 ; that is, these early works show a marked partiality for a usage which is characteristic of Isaeus as against the later writings of Demosthenes himself. This is quite in keeping with other indications of the influence of Isaeus on the style of this

group of orations. The comparison has here been made between the "guardianship orations" and the *entire* work of Demosthenes, in which these speeches are included. If we were to compare this group with the *remaining* works only, the contrast would, of course, come out still more strongly.

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## MOODS.

With regard to the difficult question of the moods after *Ōste*, little more can be done here than to indicate and illustrate some of the *methods* which promise the best results in such an investigation.

Two points have been touched on in the earlier portions of this work—(1) that the use of finite and infinite has no such clear significance for style as that of correlative and non-correlative; (2) that, for the orators, the most obvious significance which the mood test does possess is due to its coincidence, to a certain extent, with the correlation test, since those authors and works which show a marked preference for the N. C. *Ōste* also exhibit a general tendency toward the finite verb, as compared with the opposite class. To determine, then, the independent rhetorical value of the moods, it would seem best to eliminate the factor of correlation by studying their relative use *within* the C. and N. C. types separately.

Before proceeding to do this for Isocrates, notice must be taken of two elements of difficulty in presenting statistics for the use of the moods with *Ōste*. The first lies in the occasional omission of the verb in the *Ōste* clause, which would seem to remove the examples in question entirely from the scope of the present inquiry; but an examination of the passages often reveals clear indications as to the form of verb which the author had in mind. On such grounds—usually the employment of *οὐ* as the negative—I have ventured to restore the finite verb in all but 7 of the 20 cases of ellipsis which occur in Isocrates. These 7 instances I have excluded from the count as indeterminate.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In these cases also there is a strong presumption in favor of the finite verb, since they belong almost entirely to the category of "logical inference"—*ὅστ'*

The other matter which demands a word of explanation is the treatment of ὥστε clauses dependent on infinitives in indirect discourse. That *oratio obliqua* influence is extended over the ὥστε clause equally with the principal in such cases, I hold to be a fixed law, at least for the orators; and where the infinitive is obviously a mere accommodation to this necessity, it seems fair to classify it according to the original conception, as finite. The tests which I have accepted as establishing the influence of indirect discourse on the verb following ὥστε are (1) the future infinitive; (2) the negative οὐ.<sup>1</sup> In all other cases I have given the infinitive the benefit of the doubt, because the infinitive is always *possible* after ὥστε—even in the combination infinitive + ἄν. The finite list includes Isocrates' two examples of opt. without ἄν—Trap. 11 (due to ὅτι in O. O.) and Arch. 84 (assimilated to opt. in protasis). His solitary use of the participle—Paneg. 64—has been excluded from the count.

Pursuing the methods indicated with reference to cases of ellipsis and *oratio obliqua*, we find that Isocrates uses, in C. examples, 170 finite verbs to 148 infinitives, and in N.C. 112 finite to 38 infinitives; that is, the finite verb is a little more frequent than the infinitive in the former class of sentences (1.15:1), while in the latter its use is almost three times as great (2.95:1). But even these figures do not fairly represent the relation existing between the two mood forms for our present purpose. When we attach stylistic significance to the use of finite or infinitive with ὥστε, we assume a more or less free choice between these forms. But in certain connections the language has adopted a fixed, almost mechanical, rule in favor of the infinitive, and so we find the finite verb excluded by considerations which I have elsewhere (p. 9) ventured to call "extra-stylistic."

ἄξιον, ὥστε δῆλον, etc. But even the rule for logical inference has its exceptions; and in the face of sporadic instances like Panath. 94, ὥστ', εἰ μηδὲν εἶχομεν ἄλλο . . . . . εἰπεῖν . . . . ., ἐκ τούτων ῥᾷδιον εἶναι καταμαθεῖν, we are hardly justified in assuming that De Permut. 40, e.g., ὥστ' ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς οὗτος εἶρηκεν, ῥᾷδιον καταμαθεῖν, would, if the verb were expressed, certainly take the indicative.

<sup>1</sup> On the certainty of these as marks of O. O. influence, cf. Gildersleeve, *A. J. P.*, vi, 523, vii, 173; Seume, pp. 57-63. All my investigations confirm me in accepting their position.

These cases may be classed under two general heads, according as the use of the infinitive is called for by the nature of the *ῥοτε* clause itself, or of the main clause on which it depends. The former class includes those uses of *ῥοτε* which I have elsewhere grouped, for the sake of convenience, under the head of "rare types" in the orators—final, conditional, and the so-called "superfluous" *ῥοτε*—subject or object clause, epexegetic, etc. In the second group I place all those instances in which the *ῥοτε* clause depends on a conception which is not itself stated as a fact and hence does not carry its consequence as a fact. The effect of certain kinds of sentences—negative, conditional, interrogative—in limiting *ῥοτε* to the infinitive has been generally admitted.<sup>1</sup> There has been less explicit recognition of other categories which, in Isocrates at least, are regularly followed by *ῥοτε* c. inf.—the imperative, the infinitive (other than O. O.), and the participle (including O. O., as well as the attributive and circumstantial uses.)

Now, excluding from the list of examples of C. *ῥοτε* with infinitive 52 in which the mood seems to be determined by the character of the clause or expression on which the *ῥοτε* construction depends, and from the N. C. infinitives 8 instances of the same sort, with 15 of the "rare types," in which the infinitive is clearly inevitable, we find Isocrates using, in C. sentences, 170 finite verbs to 96 infinitives, and in N. C., 112 finite to 15 infinitives. That is to say, where either mood is possible, he employs almost twice as many finite verbs as infinitives (1.77 : 1) when the correlative is used, and over seven times as many (7.47 : 1) in sentences which lack correlation.

These figures amply confirm what has already been said as to the close connection between the finite verb and the N. C. form; but they also show that Isocrates' large preponderance of the finite rests not alone on its free employment in this type of sentences, but on a clearly marked preference for it also in the C. type.

An examination of the table given below will show that this preference for the finite verb in C. examples is maintained quite

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gildersleeve's apt statement of the principle as "failure to meet the conditions antecedent," *A. J. P.*, vii, p. 173.



regularly throughout the separate orations. The finite predominates in every oration in the Political and Forensic classes (leaving out of account the insignificant fragment *Lochites*), though the ratios vary from a bare majority to 5:1. The *Antidosis*, the longest of all *Isocrates'* works, shows exactly the average use of 1.75 fin.:1 inf. It may perhaps serve to emphasize the unreliable character of the moods as an indication of style to note that the widest variation in their use in any single department occurs in the *Epideictic* class—a department which we have seen to be the most consistent in its general stylistic features. The ratios here (in C. examples) range from 3:1 in favor of the finite to 2.33:1 in favor of the infinitive. And a study of the consecutive sentences in certain orations—the *Evagoras*, *e.g.*—will show how apparently arbitrary is the choice of mood—finite and infinitive interchanging constantly in sentences in which the result clause sets forth actual facts of past or present time.

For all this, the general drift toward the finite form with *Ὡστε* in *Isocrates* is a phenomenon of some interest. We see that, in spite of the historical vantage-ground and ever present possibility of the infinitive, the finite form, with its emphasis of *fact*, had come to be preferred in the most formal of the orators, even in that type of sentences in which the preceding correlative might seem to keep alive most distinctly the notion of *tendency* and the subordinate, adverbial relation.

In seeking to interpret a little more closely the significance of *Isocrates'* use of the moods, it has seemed worth while to see what help could be got from the subdivisions of the C. and N. C. types already referred to. For the C. side, the use of “fixed formulae” at once suggests itself as a factor in his large use of the finite verb—since here the indicative is regularly adhered to. *Isocrates* shows but three instances of the infinitive following these formulae (excluding three other cases in which the infinitive is made necessary by the nature of the leading clause). Of the 170 examples of C. finite which he employs, 49 (or considerably over one-fourth) are instances of these formulae.

If we choose to set these aside, on the ground that the mood, in these stereotyped expressions, is used without consciousness,

we still have predominance of the finite verb, though comparatively slight—(1.26 : 1).

I am not inclined, however, to exclude these formulae from the comparison of moods. In the first place, the finite verb is not absolutely necessary (see exceptions noted above). And further, its almost exclusive employment in these expressions seems to me to be due to the same considerations which have determined its use in a large number of other sentences which are not formulaic—that is, to a tendency to use the indicative in sentences in which the *Ὡστε* clause consists of a particular statement set forth with especial emphasis by means of an introductory one expressing the same fact in a more general way. The large use of this "general and particular" type in Isocrates would, then, to a considerable extent, explain his preference for the finite verb. And since these sentences partake largely of the character of circumlocution for rhetorical effect a connection between the finite verb with *Ὡστε* and the formal and elaborate style of composition becomes evident.

Again, outside of the strict G. + P. type—*i. e.*, in cases where the *Ὡστε* clause expresses a proper result of the fact stated in the main clause—the context not infrequently shows the assignment of cause to be rather incidental, while the stress of the sentence falls on the fact set forth in the result clause, which thus naturally takes the indicative. In such cases also the finite verb is seen to be an accompaniment of a more or less rhetorical use of the consecutive sentence. Even beyond this, in sentences in which the *Ὡστε* clause is truly subsidiary to the main thought, it may be that the expression of the result as fact rather than tendency was felt as giving something of weight and impressiveness in keeping with the genius of Isocrates; but we must beware of seeing too much. The shift from one mood to the other is, in general, so easy, so apparently arbitrary, that, if we are to suppose consciousness at all, the determining considerations must have been of the slightest and most subtle sort. I have tried to limit my view to those which have to do most clearly with style in its broader aspects. I would only add my conviction that it is in the C. type that the essential distinction between *Ὡστε* with the finite

verb and the infinitive is especially to be looked for. The conditions are here most uniform, and the problem is reduced to its simplest terms.

Turning now to the N. C. examples, and considering them also in the light of the subdivisions previously employed, the particular source of the large use of the finite verb in this class of *Ὡστε* sentences is readily apparent. Of the 112 examples of N. C. with finite verb occurring in Isocrates, 93 (or 83 per cent. of the whole number) have been set down as representing the "logical" type,<sup>1</sup> in which the result is of a subjective character, being an expression of the opinion of the speaker. The great majority of these *Ὡστε* sentences are abstract judgments as to what is just, necessary, fitting, possible, etc. I have included here also some statements as to what must have happened in the past or is likely to happen in the future which seem to be advanced as inferences from what has gone before—especially when they are preceded by a statement of a general principle or by a series of propositions which, with the *Ὡστε* sentence as conclusion, form a sort of syllogism.<sup>2</sup>

When *Ὡστε* is thus used as a particle of inference—a mere "therefore"—the sentence which it introduces becomes a detached proposition and naturally takes the finite verb.<sup>3</sup> It is, of course, not always easy to distinguish between this type and the ordinary objective result expressed with finite verb; but, allowing for all possible differences of opinion, it is still clear that the great bulk of N. C. *Ὡστε*'s with finite verb come from this logical use of the particle, which is so highly developed in Isocrates and several other orators. Leaving it aside, the use of N. C. *Ὡστε* in Isocrates is, as we have seen, remarkably slight. Excluding cases of inevitable infinitive, I have found but 29 examples which I should class as "simple tendency or result"—an average of less than 1.5 to an oration. It is in this subdivision that the choice of the moods is

<sup>1</sup> Vid. sup., p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., for the latter type, Euth. 5, quoted above, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> I have noted some five instances in which the "logical" relation seems to co-exist with the use of the infinitive—Areop. 5, Call. 10, Panath. 94, Euth. 4, Arch. 28; but in some of these cases special grounds for the infinitive might be made out.

most free, and their use accordingly of most interest; but the whole number of examples is so small that generalization is of diminished value. Still, it is worth while to observe that the finite maintains its predominance, in a slightly greater ratio than in the larger class of C. sentences. Of the 29 examples, 19 show the finite verb and 10 the infinitive. This slight use of N.C. ὥστε with infinitive in expressing simple result—about one to two orations—is one of the most noteworthy features of the usage of Isocrates.<sup>1</sup>

As to any essential distinction between ὥστε with finite verb and with infinitive, the N.C. examples furnish little more help than the C. The observations I have been able to make are largely of a negative character. I note that the cases are very rare in which ὥστε with infinitive has any truly adverbial or restrictive force such as might lead the reader to supply a "latent correlative," expressing degree or manner. As a rule, the consecutive clause is added to a statement which is absolute and complete in itself. The arbitrary punctuation of editors has, as Berdolt observes, no significance for our purpose, and the length of the ὥστε clause seems not to be a determining factor in the use of the moods. Of course, there are different degrees of "detachment." Some results are less obvious, less closely connected with what precedes, than others, and in such cases the finite verb seems more natural; but a study of the actual usage in Isocrates shows slight application of this principle, and it would be rash to attempt to predict the mood which will be found in any given case. Such a pair of examples as Aeg. 25 and 39 are fairly typical of the apparent indifference as to mood. We must needs be content with our theoretical distinction between consequence conceived as "inherent tendency" and as "actual result,"

<sup>1</sup> It may be of use to those who wish to pursue this study further to cite the sections containing the examples which I have classed as "simple result" with infinitive: Paneg. 5<sup>(2)</sup>, 168<sup>(1)</sup>, 111, Arch. 39, 66, Areop. 37<sup>(2)</sup>, Ad Nic. 49, Panath. 146, Aeg. 39, Euth. 13. Arch. 51 may be included if it is not taken as epexegetic.

Even in this short list, several cases will be noted in which the infinitive might be said to be required by the nature of the leading clause—influence of participle, *oratio obliqua*, etc.

and fall back, for illustration, on the corresponding indifference in the use of "so that" and "so as to" in English (in cases where no new subject is introduced)—"substituting *y* for *x*," as Gildersleeve puts it (*A. J. P.*, VII, p. 163).<sup>1</sup>

Apart from questions of thought-relation, there is one consideration having to do more strictly with formal style which I would venture to suggest as a possible factor in Isocrates' apparent preference for the finite verb in the "simple result" type. However little difference we may feel between a result expressed with finite verb and with infinitive, the use of the latter necessarily involves a certain grammatical nexus, and the *Ὡστε* clause with the infinitive always remains, in form at least, a part of the preceding sentence. A sentence thus extended by the "tacking on" of a consequence exhibits a "loose" structure as opposed to a "periodic," in the modern sense. The general tendency of Isocrates is toward the latter type; and the more complete detachment of the result clause (N. C.) with finite verb, by which it forms practically a new proposition, may have recommended itself to our author on rhetorical grounds—two "periodic" sentences being thus attainable in the place of a single "loose." If we add, as previously suggested, the greater distinctness and impressiveness of the fact set forth with finite verb, and take into account the possible influence of the freely used "logical" type in making the finite verb a familiar form with N. C. *Ὡστε*, the leaning towards it exhibited by Isocrates is in part accounted for.

I insert here tables showing Isocrates' use of the moods in the C. and N. C. types respectively, the statistics for each oration being given as well as the aggregates. In the C. examples with finite verb, the formulae have been separated from the non-formulaic sentences, which are marked as "ordinary" examples; while in the infinitive list, the designation "free" is used to mark cases where a choice of mood lay open, as opposed to those in which the infinitive was "necessary" on account of the nature of the main clause.

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that in most of the examples of N. C. *Ὡστε* with infinitive (see list of passages above) the consequence set forth is, in point of fact, an actual result in present or past time.

In the N. C. table, distinction is made between the "logical" and "simple result" types in the case of both finite verbs and infinitives; and in presenting the examples with infinitive, the "necessary" and "rare types" are classed separately, though in both the mood obeys fixed laws, and they are equally in opposition to the "free" use exemplified by the examples under the other two heads.

ISOCRATES.

C.

	FINITE.			INFINITIVE.		
	FORMULAE.	ORDINARY.	TOTAL.	NECESSARY.	FREE.	TOTAL.
Demonicus.....	...	...	...	...	1	1
Ad Nicoclem.....	...	1	1	1	...	1
Nicocles.....	1	2	3	...	4	4
Panegyricus.....	2	14	16	5	14	19
Philippus.....	4	8	12	5	6	11
Archidamus.....	5	5	10	4	2	6
Areopagiticus.....	4	5	9	2	6	8
De Pace.....	4	11	15	7	4	11
Evagoras.....	3	9	12	...	14	14
Helen.....	1	11	12	1	4	5
Busiris.....	2	1	3	1	7	8
Panathenaicus.....	8	7	15	7	5	12
Cont. Sophistas...	2	1	3	2	1	3
Plataicus.....	7	1	8	...	2	2
De Permutatione.	2	19	21	8	12	20
De Bigis.....	1	7	8	1	6	7
Trapeziticus.....	1	5	6	4	1	5
Callimachus.....	1	4	5	1	1	2
Aegineticus.....	1	7	8	2	5	7
Lochites.....	...	1	1	...	1	1
Euthynus.....	...	2	2	1	...	1
	49	121	170	52	96	148

N. C.

	FINITE.			INFINITIVE.				
	Logical.	Simple Result.	Total.	Rare Types.	Necessary.	Free.		Total.
						Logical.	Simple Result.	
Demonicus.....	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
Ad Nicoclem.....	2	...	2	1	...	...	1	2
Nicocles.....	1	...	1	...	3	...	...	3
Panegyricus.....	4	2	6	3	1	...	3	7
Philippus.....	10	2	12	1	...	...	...	1
Archidamus.....	6	...	6	4	...	1	2	7
Areopagiticus.....	2	...	2	...	...	1	1	2
De Pace.....	7	3	10	1	...	...	...	1
Evagoras.....	7	1	8	...	...	...	...	...
Helen.....	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	1
Busiris.....	3	...	3	...	...	...	...	...
Panathenaicus.....	5	1	6	1	2	1	1	5
Cont. Sophistas.....	1	1	2	1	...	...	...	1
Plataicus.....	4	1	5	...	...	...	...	...
De Permutatione..	14	2	16	...	1	...	...	1
De Bigis.....	3	...	3	1	...	...	...	1
Trapeziticus.....	2	...	2	1	...	...	...	1
Callimachus.....	7	1	8	...	...	1	...	1
Aegineticus.....	5	2	7	...	1	...	1	2
Lochites.....	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
Enthynus.....	7	2	9	...	...	1	1	2
	93	19	112	15	8	( 5 + 10 = 15 )		38

A similar classification of the examples found in Lysias is given herewith.<sup>1</sup> In the C. list, the ratio of finite to “free” infinitive is somewhat greater than in Isocrates (2.62 : 1); but it will be noted that the C. finite list is more largely recruited from the type of “fixed formulae” in the former author than in the latter. In the N. C. examples the situation is reversed, finite standing to free infinitive as 4.57 : 1—a much smaller ratio than in Isocrates. The larger average occurrence of the “logical” type in Lysias might, taken alone, have suggested an opposite result; but a comparison of the moods in the “simple result” type will show the main source of the difference. The larger average occurrence

<sup>1</sup> The collective statistics only, not those for the separate orations.

of this type in Lysias, and his far higher proportion of infinitives within it, as compared with Isocrates, are the most striking features of this table. The latter phenomenon seems to be a characteristic of the less formal orators; but here again the number of examples is too small to warrant broad generalizations.

I have not attempted to distinguish between the genuine and spurious works of Lysias in presenting these statistics. The number of suspected orations is small, most of them are quite brief, and there is a lack of agreement as to their status among the best critics; but in one instance I have excluded an oration from the table—Or. 20, (For Polystratus). This is a work of more considerable compass, and a strong case has been made out against it, to which the usage as to ὥστε adds considerable confirmation. Its peculiarities are, (1) a remarkably large ratio of N. C. to C.—12 : 1; (2) in the N. C. examples, a very small proportion of "logical inference" to "simple result"—3 : 9; (3) in the last-mentioned type, a marked preponderance of the infinitive over the finite verb—6 : 3. In all these respects, it exemplifies *tendencies* of Lysias as against Isocrates, but the *degree* of variation from the normal use of Lysias is far greater than that between Lysias and Isocrates.

### LYSIAS.

#### C.

FINITE.		INFINITE.	
Formulae....	23	Necessary.....	12
Ordinary.....	45	Free.....	26
<hr/> Total.....		<hr/> Total.....	
68		38	

#### N. C.

FINITE.		INFINITIVE.	
Logical.....	54	Rare Types.....	5
Simple Result.....	10	Necessary.....	3
<hr/> Total.....		Free { Logical..... 5 } =.....	
64		{ Simple Result.. 9 } =.....	
		<hr/> Total.....	
		22	

The statistics of the moods for Isaeus show a close correspondence, in most respects, to the usage of Lysias. The ratio of finite





## ὩΣΤΕ IN DEMOSTHENES.

To treat exhaustively the ὥστε usage in so large a body of writings as the orations of Demosthenes is not practicable within the limits assigned to the present work. Yet the very extent of his writings, affording as they do a sufficiently broad basis for generalization, as well as his importance as an orator, has made it seem worth while to present the statistics of his usage, and to emphasize a few of the more striking results.

Two ends are kept especially in view in this brief treatment—(1) to see how far the connection between certain phases of ὥστε usage and certain tendencies in style which has been made out from a study of the other orators—especially Isocrates—is exemplified in Demosthenes; (2) to see how far the use of ὥστε can be made available as a test of genuineness, by a comparative study of it in the genuine works of Demosthenes and those attributed to him but generally admitted to be spurious. It will be more convenient to consider this latter question first.

### COMPARISON OF GENUINE AND SPURIOUS WORKS.

The large body of orations formerly attributed to Demosthenes but now generally regarded as spurious demands separate treatment from the genuine works. A comparison of the ὥστε usage of these two groups is interesting. I have distinguished genuine and spurious according to the classification given by Butcher in the appendix to his "Demosthenes,"<sup>1</sup> which reflects closely the judgment of Blass.

In frequency of occurrence they do not differ materially. The genuine works contain 328 examples of ὥστε, an average to the page of .47. The spurious show 218 cases, an average occurrence of .54.

But when we come to apply the test of correlation a marked difference appears. The genuine works show a ratio of C. to N. C. of 1.89 : 1; the spurious, of 1 : 1.06. Demosthenes's use of the

<sup>1</sup> "Classical Writers" Series, D. Appleton & Co.

C. type, relatively to the N. C., is thus seen to be about twice as great as that shown in this collected body of writings by his imitators or unknown contemporaries. The superiority of the correlative test, as an index of style, over that of average occurrence is again demonstrated; and its possible value as a test of genuineness, where sufficiently large masses of material can be brought into comparison, is strongly suggested.

#### I. COMPARISON WITH OTHER ORATORS.

Confining our attention now to the genuine work of Demosthenes, we may note that, in the matter of average occurrence, the reaction from a large use of the particle first observed in Isaeus—when compared with Lysias and Isocrates—is still more marked in Demosthenes, who occupies in this respect an intermediate position between Isaeus and Aeschines.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to fondness for the correlative with ὥστε, to which attention is mainly directed in this chapter, it will be observed<sup>2</sup> that Demosthenes shows a marked reversion toward the usage of Isocrates, to whom he holds second place (Isocrates 2.21 : 1; Demosthenes 1.89 : 1), while the orator who comes next in this respect is his rival and contemporary, Aeschines (1.48 : 1). We can not here attempt an analysis of the various elements which enter into the use of C. ὥστε in Demosthenes; but if we may assume a general connection between a large use of this type and carefulness in the construction of the period, the position indicated by these figures is certainly not far from that which we should expect to find him occupying. Especially interesting is his departure from the usage of his immediate predecessor and reputed master, Isaeus. It is instructive to note Blass' statements in comparing the two,<sup>3</sup> that Demosthenes "emphasizes and perfects the oratorical" and "avoids the colloquial," especially λέξις εἰρομένη such as is common in Isaeus; and that he makes a marked approach to the grandeur and fulness of epideictic style, "so far as was possible for the practical orator."

<sup>1</sup>Vid. Table of Average Occurrence, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>Vid. Table, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup>III, p. 146.

## 2. COMPARISON OF DIFFERENT CLASSES.

I have adopted Butcher's classification of the orations of Demosthenes under the three heads Deliberative, Public Forensic, and Private Forensic. As to the characteristics which distinguish these three groups we may again avail ourselves of the judgment of Blass,<sup>1</sup> who says, in substance, that the Deliberative class have the strongest and most elevated style, in keeping with the dignity of their subjects; at the opposite pole stand the Private orations; while the Public Forensic show a mixture of these two stylistic tendencies. But as these last deal largely with public matters of grave import and were designed for wide audiences we may expect to find them showing closer affinities with the former class than with the latter.

The degree of preference for C. ὡς τε shown by the several classes corresponds to this estimate of their rhetorical character. The Deliberative has C. to N. C. as 2.19 : 1; the Public Forensic as 2.10 : 1; the Private Forensic as 1.37 : 1.

## COMPARISON OF ORATORS CLASS BY CLASS.

We have compared the general ratios of C. and N. C. in Demosthenes and other orators. An examination of the usage of these writers in similar classes would seem to be a still more exact test; but data for such a comparison are only partially available. Blass<sup>2</sup> recommends as standards of comparison in studying the style of Demosthenes, Isocrates and Thucydides for the Deliberative class, Isocrates for the Public Forensic, Isaeus and Lysias for the Private orations. If, as already suggested, we take the Political oratory of Isocrates as the closest correspondent to the Public Forensic in Demosthenes (on the score of theme and oratorical handling rather than technical character), we can make a complete comparison between these two orators; and we find a remarkably close correspondence, class for class, in the matter of correlation :

<sup>1</sup> pp. 80-81.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 81-82.

Isocrates.....Polit. 2.25 : 1 ;.....For. 1.54 : 1.

Demosthenes... { Delib. 2.19 : 1 } ; Priv. For. 1.37 : 1.  
                           { Pub. For. 2.10 : 1 }

Again, the usage of the Private Forensic class in Demosthenes may be compared with the *general* ratios of Isaeus and Lysias, since practically all the work of these two belongs to this type of oratory.<sup>1</sup> The result shows how much more freely Demosthenes employs the correlative even in this field—Demosthenes 1.37 : 1 ; Lysias 1 : 1.17 ; Isaeus 1 : 1.51. As compared with Isaeus, his use of it (relatively to N. C.) is twice as great ; and we may again refer to Blass, who says<sup>2</sup> that "Demosthenes departs much further than Isaeus from the customary simplicity of the Private speech." Blass is speaking here especially of diction ; but the observation will be found, I think, to hold fairly well with reference to the structure of the sentence.

Finally, a more exact measure of the difference between the *genuine* and *spurious* works of the Demosthenean corpus may be had by comparing them in that department to which the greater part of the spurious orations belong—the Private Forensic. The ratios of C. to N. C. for this class stand—Genuine 1.37 : 1 ; Spurious 1 : 1.49. While the pseudo-Demosthenean private speeches thus stand in marked contrast to the genuine, it will be noted that the ratio of C. to N. C. which they collectively exhibit is almost exactly that of Isaeus—Ps. Dem. 1 : 1.49 ; Isae. 1 : 1.51.

#### INFLUENCE OF TIME OF COMPOSITION.

Demosthenes' activity extends over a sufficiently long period to suggest a *development* of style and to permit us to raise the question whether time of composition may not enter, as an additional

<sup>1</sup> It is true that, according to the technical division of Attic law, the greater part of Lysias' orations were written for *public* suits—i. e. what we should call criminal cases. But most of these were virtually *private* suits, as concerning only the interests of individuals, and their composition shows the simple, business-like style of the strictly private orations, rather than the elaboration and rhetorical finish of the so-called "Public Forensics" of Demosthenes, which belong to *political* cases and were addressed, not merely to a jury, but to a large audience of interested citizens. Cf. Jebb, I. p. 163 ; 209.

<sup>2</sup> III. p. 85.

factor, into his usage in any given respect. Blass seems to assume that it does, and indicates the general direction of this development when he says (p. 97), "in sentence-structure the approach to the epideictic only followed gradually." Cf., for a similar statement, p. 146. Again, p. 80, he says that not only the classes, but the *times*, are to be considered, "both in general and within the several classes." Time, then, might be considered a factor in that lower ratio of C. to N. C. *Ὡστε* which we have just noted in the case of the Private orations; for this class, taken as a whole, is early, relatively to the other departments.

Within the several classes, Blass notes this development especially in the case of the Deliberative and Private orations. The perfected stage of Deliberative oratory is seen, he says, in the Philippic speeches—the first of which was spoken in 351. The peculiar excellence of the Private Forensic class is exhibited about 350; differences are shown according to earlier or later composition; "later, the form approaches more nearly that of the Public Forensics."<sup>1</sup>

I have, accordingly, taken the year 350 as a sort of central point in Demosthenes' development and grouped together, for purposes of comparison, the orations of ascertained date (following Blass' chronology) which precede and those which follow that date. The collective ratios of these two groups, in the Deliberative class, show a striking difference in *Ὡστε* usage: for the earlier period, C. to N. C. as 1 : 1.83; for the later, as 5.8 : 1. The Private Forensic class shows an increase in correlation less marked, yet quite perceptible: C. to N. C. as 1 : 1.3 for the earlier group, as 1.75 : 1 for the later.<sup>2</sup> The gain in the Public Forensic class is insignificant: 1.88 : 1 for orations before 350, 2.28 : 1 for those after.

<sup>1</sup> pp. 80–81.

<sup>2</sup> Of the Private orations, the Canon has been excluded from this calculation as being of uncertain date. If it should be placed after 350 (following Clinton—*vid.* Blass, p. 457), the ratio of C. to N. C. for the later period in this class would be considerably increased.

## 3. COMPARISON OF ORATIONS WITHIN THE CLASSES.

Tables are here presented showing the number of examples of C. and N. C. ὥστε in all the orations of Demosthenes and those attributed to him. The orations of each class are arranged in order of preference for the C. type, the genuine and spurious works being grouped separately in each of the three classes. The chronological order of the genuine works may be made out from the dates inserted, which represent the judgment of Blass. The length of each oration in Teubner pages is given, deduction being made for copies of documents and other extraneous matter. The ratios of C. and N. C. for the several classes are also appended.

## DELIBERATIVE.

*Genuine.*

			C. N.C.
3rd Phil. ....	341 B. C.....	18 pp....	13 : 1
3rd Ol. ....	349.....	9½.....	7 : 0
De Reb. Cherson. ....	341.....	17.....	5 : 2
2nd Ol. ....	349.....	8.....	2 : 0
De Pace.....	346.....	6.....	1 : 0
1st Phil. ....	351.....	13½.....	3 : 3
2nd Phil. ....	344.....	8½.....	1 : 1
De Symmor. ....	354.....	10½.....	2 : 3
1st Ol. ....	349.....	7½.....	0 : 1
Pro Rhod. Libert. ....	351.....	9½.....	0 : 2
Pro Megalop. ....	353.....	8.....	1 : 3

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Ratio for class, 2.19 : 1

*Spurious.*

De Foed. cum Alex. ....	.....	8.....	4 : 0
De Ord. Rep. ....	.....	9½.....	4 : 0
Epist. Phil. ....	.....	6... ..	8 : 2
4th Phil. ....	.....	18.....	5 : 2
Adv. Epist. Phil. ....	.....	5½.....	3 : 2
De Halon. ....	.....	10½.....	2 : 4

PUBLIC FORENSIC.

*Genuine.*

			C. N.C.
Meidias.....	347 B. C.....	59½ pp...	24 : 4
Timocrates.....	353.....	55.....	15 : 5
De Fals. Leg. ....	344.....	96.....	30 : 15
Aristocrates.....	352.....	63½.....	15 : 8
Leptines.....	354.....	47.....	8 : 5
De Corona. ....	339.....	80.....	19 : 13
Androtion.....	355.....	22½.....	11 : 8

Ratio for class, 2.10 : 1

*Spurious.*

Aristogeiton A'.....	.....	27.....	10 : 4
Aristogeiton B'.....	.....	7.....	2 : 2
Theocrines.....	.....	21.....	4 : 6
Neaera.....	.....	34½.....	5 : 17

PRIVATE FORENSIC.

*Genuine.*

Conon.....	.....	14 pp....	11 : 0
Stephanus A'. ....	349-8 B. C...	22½.....	6 : 2
Callicles.....	bef. 350.....	9.....	3 : 1
Pantaenetus.....	346.....	16½.....	2 : 0
Onetor B'. ....	362 .....	4.....	1 : 0
Pro Phorm.....	350.....	17.....	3 : 2
Boeotus A'. ....	348.....	11.....	3 : 2
Nausimachus.....	346 (?).....	8.....	3 : 2
De Cor. Trierarch.....	361-57.....	6.....	3 : 2
Eubulides.....	345.....	20½.....	7 : 6
Aphobus B'. ....	363.....	7.....	1 : 1
Aphobus Γ'. ....	363.....	17.....	5 : 6
Aphobus A'. ....	363.....	20.....	4 : 7
Onetor A'. ....	362.....	11.....	3 : 6
Spudias.....	bef. 350.....	8½.....	0 : 3

Ratio for class, 1.37 : 1



## PRIVATE FORENSIC.

*Spurious.*

			C. N.C.
Callippus.....	.....	9 pp....	7 : 2
Zenothemis.....	.....	8.....	2 : 0
Nicostratus.....	.....	9.....	2 : 1
Phaenippus.....	.....	9½.....	1 : 0
Boeot. B'.....	.....	16½.....	11 : 8
Dionysodorus.....	.....	16.....	4 : 3
Adv. Phorm.....	.....	14½.....	2 : 2
Steph. B'.....	.....	7.....	1 : 2
Lacritus.....	.....	12½.....	1 : 2
Apaturius.....	.....	11½.....	2 : 4
Olympiodorus.....	.....	15½.....	1 : 3
Polycles.....	.....	19½.....	3 : 9
Euerg. and Mnes.....	.....	23½.....	4 : 13
Timotheus.....	.....	18.....	1 : 4
Macartatus.....	.....	20.....	1 : 5
Leochares.....	.....	18.....	2 : 10

EPIDEICTIC (*Spurious*).

Eroticus.....	.....	14½.....	11 : 2
Epitaphius.....	.....	10½.....	2 : 3

In general, it may be noted that these tables do not present such striking results as were afforded in Isocrates. Perhaps it is less in keeping with the genius of Demosthenes than of Isocrates to employ a comparatively formal rhetorical feature in such a way as to reflect faithfully the difference in style between particular orations. However this may be, the brevity of so many of the orations, combined with the much smaller average occurrence, necessarily operates to deprive these statistics of significance. It is only in the Public Forensic class, as a rule, that the number of examples is sufficient to make the ratios important; and here, for the most part, the variations are slight. However, it has seemed worthwhile to call attention to a few works which, affording a respectable number of examples, show also a ratio of C. to N. C. departing widely from the norm of their class.

## GENUINE ORATIONS.

### 1. DELIBERATIVE.

#### *3rd Philippic.*

The 3rd Philippic is the longest and the latest in time of its class and shows the highest average occurrence of ὥστε (.78). It challenges attention by its remarkable proportion of C. to N. C.—13:1. Blass (p. 381) calls it the most powerful and pathetic of all the Demosthenean orations. Both he and Lord Brougham call attention to its lack of "close reasoning." This feature may help to explain the entire absence of the "logical" type of ὥστε sentence. But the all but exclusive use of the correlative form in expressing result of the stricter sort is, I think, to be connected especially with the oratorical character of the composition. Blass, after commenting on the "fully developed and flowing period" of the 1st Philippic as compared with the speech on the Symmories, "which is neither epideictic nor oratorical," remarks on the "still more powerful swing of the 3rd Philippic."

A number of the ὥστε sentences give a decidedly rhetorical effect.<sup>1</sup> The greater part of the examples incline to the "G. + P." type, and 9 of the 13 C. instances show the indicative in the ὥστε clause.

#### *3rd Olynthiac.*

The 3rd Olynthiac is much shorter and has but seven examples of ὥστε; but all these are of the C. type. Blass (p. 321) describes it as "full of strong passion"; Butcher speaks of its tone of "indignant remonstrance."

The ὥστε sentences serve effectively for emphatic characterization, the G. + P. type being well represented, but they are, on the whole, shorter and of a less rhetorical cast than in the 3rd Philippic.

### 2. PUBLIC FORENSIC.

The same gradation and advance in the composition of the period which Blass (p. 151) remarks, in the Deliberative class, in passing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e. g. §§ 1 and 54.

from the Symmories to the 1st Philippic, and from the latter to the 3rd Philippic, he traces, for this class, in the series Leptines, Aristocrates and Timocrates, Meidias and the False Embassy.

### *Meidias.*

Of the Meidias, he says (p. 339) that it is "one of the first monuments of dignified and powerful oratory"; that it "belongs out and out to the *genus grave*, like the Philippic orations"; it is "thoroughly pathetic, hence quite the opposite of the Leptines." Butcher refers to it as "an admirable example of ancient *invective*."

In preference for C. ὦστε this oration far surpasses, not only all others of its class, but all others of the longer orations, with its ratio of 6 : 1. The G. + P. type prevails, and of the C. examples—excluding "necessary" infins.—two-thirds take the indicative.

The work which Blass is especially fond of contrasting with the Meidias is the *Leptines*.<sup>1</sup> It shows a remarkably small average occurrence of ὦστε, and stands among the lowest of its class in ratio of C. to N. C. For characterization, cf. especially Blass, pp. 272–3, where he remarks its absence of passion and of bitter invective. Elsewhere (p. 150) he observes that it lacks fulness and grandeur, despite the fact that the passages in praise of benefactors of the state afforded rich opportunity for the epideictic style. These two spheres—invective and highly polished encomium—are strongholds of the C. ὦστε construction. The latter use can best be studied in Isocrates; the former in Demosthenes, and nowhere better than in the Meidias and Timocrates.

### *Timocrates.*

In respect to the artistic development of the period, Blass, as we have seen, places this oration in an intermediate class between the Leptines and Meidias. He attributes to it fulness of sentence-structure (p. 287), and notes its bitterness and vehemence of tone.

In proportion of C. to N. C. ὦστε it stands far below the Meidias, but appreciably above the average for its class. The G. + P. type is especially common, being employed to set forth and char-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 81, 151, 339.

acterize strongly the conduct of Timocrates and others<sup>1</sup>; and in these examples, in accordance with the general rule, the finite verb is used almost exclusively.

A large proportion of the ὥστε sentences in the Timocrates give a decidedly rhetorical effect. In a majority of instances the responsive effect is heightened by the initial position of the first correlative; and not infrequently an effective balance is exhibited, either between the main and ὥστε clause, or between the consecutive sentence taken as a whole and another member which unites with it to form a period. For examples, cf. §§ 3 and 9.

### 3. PRIVATE FORENSIC.

#### *Conon.*

The remarkable preference for the C. type exhibited in the Conon is a phenomenon which seems to demand explanation; for we have here an essay of Demosthenes in the "plain" style, and its Lysianic characteristics have been noted by the critics, from Dionysius down.<sup>2</sup> The slight place given to formal argumentation may account for the lack of the "logical" type of ὥστε; for here, as so often in Lysias, the narrative is the argument.<sup>3</sup> But the entire absence as well of the "simple result" type of N. C. is rather remarkable. We may at least note the character of the ὥστε sentences. They are for the most part short and simply constructed; the initial position of the correlative word is hardly more common than the final; the infinitive predominates largely over the finite verb; and the G. + P. type is extremely rare. The ὥστε clause, as a rule, comes in quite naturally to measure the degree of an act or condition by its consequences—the true "substantiating" function of the construction.<sup>4</sup> The use of the anticipating correlative serves primarily, with this earnest and indignant speaker, to emphasize and call attention to the connection between fact and consequence. But it also contributes to the sentence-structure something of that

<sup>1</sup> Note the large use of the familiar formulae.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kirk, *Demosthenic Style in the Private Orations* (J. H. U. Diss.), p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Blass, p. 461; Kirk, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Vid. supra*, p. 18, and cf. *A. J. P.*, xiv. p. 242.

"well-rounded" effect which Dionysius seems to claim for it;<sup>1</sup> and which modern critics, in laying stress, very properly, on the "ethical simplicity" of the work in relation to the *character* portrayed, have perhaps too much overlooked.

### *Guardianship Orations.*

We have now examined those works which show a marked preference for C. ὦστε, and found that, as a rule, they exhibit certain common features—oratorical fulness and finish, impassioned narrative, and abundant characterization. Of those in which the N. C. prevails, no single oration shows a very striking ratio, especially in view of the small number of examples. But the fact that in the Private orations, where the ratios are most significant, all the works showing a predominance of N. C., except the very brief speech against Spudias (with only three examples), belong to the group of "guardianship orations"—the speeches against Aphobus and Onetor—suggests taking the collective statistics for this group. We thus have a considerable body of material (59 pp.), belonging to the same period, dealing with practically the same issue, and exhibiting the same general style. In these "lawyer-like speeches of Demosthenes himself,"<sup>2</sup> the logical faculty of the advocate is given free scope and close legal argument is the dominant feature. There is little of characterization of opponents,<sup>3</sup> and comparatively little attention to rhetorical effect.<sup>4</sup>

In this group C. stand to N. C. as 1 to 1.43—almost exactly reversing the general ratio for the Private orations (1.37 : 1).<sup>5</sup> And it can hardly be without significance that the ratio which they exhibit is practically that of Isaeus—the master under whose influence, in the opinion of many, these earliest works were produced.

<sup>1</sup> *στρογγύλα*, De Adm. Vi. c. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Kirk, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Blass, p. 231.

<sup>4</sup> In the Onetor A' all three of the C. examples occur in the single page of the prooemium, a rather rhetorical passage (*conflatio invidiae*, cf. Kirk, p. 22).

<sup>5</sup> Note that comparison is here made with the *whole* class, in which the "guardianship orations" are included. If we compare these with the *remaining* Private orations, the contrast between the ratios will, of course, be more marked.

### SPURIOUS ORATIONS.

The two spurious orations which show the most marked preference for C. ὥστε deserve special notice, inasmuch as they are excellent representatives of a style which we have found elsewhere associated with a large use of this type of sentence.

#### *Letter of Philip.*

The letter of Philip to the Athenian people—the composition, doubtless, of some rhetorical secretary<sup>1</sup>—bears clearly the impress of the Isocratic school.<sup>2</sup> While quite short, the average occurrence of ὥστε is remarkable (1.67)—double that of any genuine work of Demosthenes. Of the 10 examples, 8 are C., 2 N. C. The C. examples nearly all exhibit the G. + P. type; six of them are instances of the formula εἰς τοῦτο (τοσοῦτον); seven take the indicative;<sup>3</sup> and all of these belong to the language of denunciation, being employed, in a general bill of complaints, to stamp each act recited with the quality which condemns it. Blass<sup>4</sup> notes these "frequent emphasizing expressions" (εἰς τοῦτο, κ. τ. λ.) as among the markedly epideictic features of the work.

#### *Eroticus.*

This is one of the two professedly epideictic works which have in some way been thrust into the Demosthenean corpus. For characterization, cf. Blass, pp. 406–408, 588. He finds the style "thoroughly Isocratic"—marked by careful composition and great periods. The average occurrence of ὥστε (.90) is close up to the general average of Isocrates. As to correlation, we have the striking proportion of 11 C. : 2 N. C. The rhetorical handling of the construction recalls strongly the encomia of Isocrates. Note especially the free use of τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν and equivalent expressions in setting up a contrast.

<sup>1</sup> Blass, p. 588.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Blass, pp. 394, 396–7.

<sup>3</sup> The ὥστε in § 14, followed by the participle, is a disputed reading—"excidere facile potuit," Dind.-Blass ed.

<sup>4</sup> p. 397.

*Neaera.*

On the other hand, those spurious orations which show the highest ratio of N. C. form a group whose stylistic tendencies are directly opposite to those of the Isocratic school and of the more finished work of Demosthenes. Of these the Neaera is most deserving of study, as being the longest of the spurious orations and containing the highest number of examples of ὥστε. The unfavorable characterization of its style which occurs in the *ὑπόθεσις* of Libanius is concurred in by modern critics.<sup>1</sup>

Not only does the proportion of N. C. to C. exceed that of any genuine work of Demosthenes, but the several sub-types figure in the N. C. group in unusual proportions. The "logical" type is fairly well represented; but the preponderance of N. C. seems to be due especially to a larger use of the "final" (including the ἐφ' ὧτε equivalent) and "simple result" types than we have been accustomed to find. The latter, as before pointed out, is the most significant for style, being, in most cases, readily interchangeable with the C. form. This oration shows, according to my classification, a number of examples of this use of ὥστε equal to that of the C. type—a phenomenon very uncommon in the standard orators. All but one of these are followed by the infinitive.

With the Neaera may be grouped the other spurious works (all Private orations) which show, like it, a more marked preference for the N. C. than is found in any genuine work—viz. the *Polycles*, *Timotheus*, *Euergus* and *Mnesibulus*, *Macartatus*, and *Leochares*. The first two of these Blass (p. 589) assigns with certainty, the third with strong probability, to the author of the Neaera and several other speeches for Apollodorus—an unnamed logographer, "whose efforts hardly ever attain medium rank." The *Macartatus*, along with the *Lacritus* and *Olympiodorus*,—all "of poor quality"—he assigns to "a logographer of low rank"; while the *Leochares* stands "nearly on the same plane." For the looseness and general "formlessness" of their composition, and for their

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Blass, pp. 539–541, who finds in it the same faults of form as in the other works of the "mediocre advocate" who wrote for Apollodorus.

correspondences with each other and with the Neaera, see Blass—especially pp. 526, 530, 547–9, 556, 560, 571.

An analysis of the N. C. examples in these works shows a similarity to the Neaera in that the number of examples of the "simple result" type in each instance equals or surpasses that of the C.<sup>1</sup>

This tendency to tack on the consequence loosely instead of gathering it up into a well-knit period by an anticipating correlative gives a certain "trailing" effect to the style (especially when the infinitive is used, as it is in most of these examples), and is in keeping, I think, with the general laxity of sentence-structure and absence of oratorical rounding in this group of speeches. It certainly helps to differentiate them from the greater orators of the canon.

#### 4. COMPARISON OF PARTS OF SAME ORATION.

The last test proposed has to do with variation in the use of ὥστε in different parts of the same oration, where there is a distinct change of topic, accompanied by difference of style. The practical oratory of Demosthenes gives less scope for this kind of analysis than the writings of Isocrates, with their sophistic leanings, in which we seem to see the professional rhetorician delighting to show his skill in different kinds of composition within the compass of a single work. The slight use, too, of strictly epideictic narrative—that absence of the "pleasing treatment of grand and agreeable topics" which the writer of the *περὶ Τψους* observed in Demosthenes—removes an element which often gives a good opportunity for the application of the analytical test in Isocrates. For all this, there are not wanting orations of Demosthenes in which the different divisions of the discourse are fairly well marked, not only by formulae of transition, but by significant stylistic differences, so that they present reasonably distinct "blocks" from the standpoint of composition. In two works especially a contrast in style and subject-matter between different parts is strikingly reflected by the usage with regard to ὥστε.

The bulk of the *Timocrates* is made up of two tolerably distinct

<sup>1</sup>The *Polycles* has nine N. C. examples, all of the "S. R." type except two or three, which are "final," and all taking the infinitive.



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